/401 cont./

178 occupation may be. Imported products appear only at breakfast: *262 bread, sweetened condensed milk, lumps of sugar. The other [264] two meals are still always composed of four products, rice, [439] millet, fish, and meat, which may be combined in different ways, and a fifth that is always present, oil. The single element of diversity comes from the more or less great variety and the more or less great quantity of vegetables and manioc that are incorporated into the traditional dishes, and, of course, the skillful proportion of condiments of all sorts.

*511 With a few exceptions (1), the study of the expenses of
*262
[177]

1. The more important exceptions are Nos. 39 and 43. These two units of consumption have entirely adopted European food habits, and are otherwise not comparable with the others. This is why we neglect them a little on this point.

our families for food is very nearly limited, aside from bread, milk, and sugar, to a description of the variations ascertained in the consumption of these few essential products.

One can state that in general all of our families consume rice by liking and millet by necessity. Rice is the food of choice, millet entering in only when the financial situation of the family demands it, or in order all the same to provide a little variety.

243 Rice is 30 to 35% more expensive than millet. It is culti-
311 vated on a small scale in a few wet zones in the countryside
[435] around Thiès, whereas millet grows nearly everywhere. The
*[511] truly productive rice zones closest to Thiès are the Casamance to the south and the lower course of the Senegal to the north. On the east it appears only with the upper course of this river and in the region /402/ drained by the Niger and its tributaries, in Guinea, and in the Sudan. In reality, it is an imported *262 product. The traditional diet of this region was primarily based 177 on millet.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

II. FRENCH ASSIMILATION IN PRACTICE

. . . that France above all should understand this great mission which the Lord has entrusted to her . . . by sending missions composed of men of clear courage and integrity and of superior intelligence . . . to serve as intermediaries and interpreters between these more or less savage people on the one hand and the civilisation and institutions of Europe on the other . . .

HEINRICH BARTH

IN a few short words the great German explorer Heinrich Barth summed up the ideals of French assimilationist policy in Africa. But as we have seen these ideals were to be tempered not only by the realities of colonial administration but also by the failure of the French ever to accept the full implications of an assimilationist policy. Nowhere was this clearer than in Senegal, where France carried out in one part of the country what may be described in terms of nineteenth-century colonial administration as a very advanced policy of assimilation whilst subjecting the rest of the country to an authoritarian rule unknown in British West Africa.

Senegal came into contact with the French in the early seventeenth century when French commercial companies started trading at the mouth of the river Senegal, first entered by Europeans in 1445. In 1659 Caullier founded the town of St. Louis on an island at the mouth of the river. For the rest of the seventeenth and most of the eighteenth century, the fort he built there, around which grew up a prosperous trading town dominated by the great chartered companies, was to be the centre of French commercial activity on the west coast of Africa.

Though the French did explore the Senegal river and even established a fort at Podor in 1745, they had no control of the hinterland; their sphere of influence was strictly limited to the island on which St. Louis was built and to the

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

small island of Gorée further down the coast. However this did not mean that the French lacked interest in the interior. From 1749-53 Michel Adanson explored the Senegalese coast and undertook the first really scientific description of West Africa. His writings were largely responsible for the later hope that European colonisation of this part of Africa would be possible. But for the rest of the eighteenth century France's hold on St. Louis was too tenuous for anything of this nature to be undertaken. Indeed during the Seven Years' War the town fell to the British and was only returned in 1779. By the end of the eighteenth century St. Louis with a population of 7,000, had a European colony numbering 600, the largest on the whole of the West Coast. It also had an important assimilated mulatto community, whose descendants are known today as St. Louisiens. Indeed there had been a very high degree of *métissage* by the end of the eighteenth century, since most Frenchmen there took permanent African mistresses known as *signares*, and ensured the education of any children they had by them. Indeed in all but legal status these *signares* were wives and their 'marriages' were celebrated by their families with all the pomp of a normal wedding. However, with the improvement of communications between Senegal and France and the arrival of larger numbers of soldiers in the middle of the nineteenth century, mistresses were much more temporary in nature and the number of Frenchmen prepared to educate resulting offspring was considerably reduced.

In 1789 St. Louis sent its *cahier* of grievances to the States-General on the eve of the French Revolution, demanding the end of the monopoly of the great companies, freedom of trade and the abolition of slavery, which had hitherto formed the main item of export from St. Louis. These grievances were heeded. Slavery was abolished and the companies had their charters withdrawn. But the position of slaves and slave-trading in the colonies was not in fact settled until the end of the wars that followed the French Revolution.

During these wars St. Louis once again fell to the British

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

encourage the evangelisation of the population, he was sufficiently knowledgeable about the country and its people to realise that it would be impossible to win converts from among the Muslims who formed the majority in Senegal. Scholarships for primary education in St. Louis, and secondary education in France were awarded under his auspices to promising students. Small technical schools were established at Dakar. And he even opened a museum at St. Louis.

He tried to equip the colony with some of the benefits of a modern economy. He established the Bank of Senegal, laid out St. Louis afresh as befitted a capital city, and under his influence Pinet-Laprade founded the new port of Dakar. He promoted the export of the ground-nut crop, becoming increasingly valuable to the colony's revenue which rose from 12 million francs in 1848 to 37 million in 1869, and proved a profitable substitute for human merchandise. He made valuable and detailed studies of the local people. Like Lugard he seemed to be able to think of every aspect of administration at the same time. The historian G. Hardy wrote of him: 'He touched on everything, and always with good results.' But as J. Richard-Molard commented, 'He was the first great Frenchman to realise the wish of Barth. But he did it as an officer of the Empire, endowed with an abominable character and a sense of authority which bordered on vice. He was proconsul of an authoritarian Empire.'

One decision vital for the future of the Senegal was made during the Faidherbian regime: this was the final abandonment of any ideals of European colonisation. It came at a time when the French were settling Algeria, and was not altogether altruistic, as the ministerial instructions of 1859 showed:

> Nothing similar to Algeria could be undertaken in Senegal. The climate is against it. The land should therefore be left to the natives, at least as a general rule. It is by their hands that it should be cultivated and if our rule is to be extended over all the territory

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

till the end of the nineteenth century, neglected the Protectorate and seemed to think that the only parts of the country that mattered were the four communes. Naturally their official business with the Protectorate was limited, but they did control the three main ports of the country through which the products of the interior passed to France. The councillors, too, restricted education largely to the communes, where on the whole it reached a satisfactory level. They even sent students on scholarships to France, but unfortunately too few of these returned to Senegal to use their newly acquired talents. It was not until the establishment of the Government-General of French West Africa in 1905 that educational facilities were extended to the Protectorate in any great measure.

The increase in education amongst citizens of African origin meant that by the turn of the nineteenth century they were less willing to accept European domination in the communes and the General Council. The assertion of their rights is one of the main factors behind the attempts of the administration to deprive the indigenous Senegalese of their position as *citoyens*. Actually the Administration was batting on a good wicket. Technically a French citizen was one who accepted French rights and duties without qualification. In the case of the Africans in Senegal they had been allowed to retain their own *statut personnel*, that is private law, with reference to civil disputes, matrimony, divorce, inheritance and land. But this seemed to conflict openly with the definition of a French citizen. It seemed wrong that a man should exercise the rights of a French citizen and not accept the consequent obligations. Many Frenchmen felt it quite illogical that an African with four wives could yet be a citizen. And indeed in later years the main obstacle to granting citizenship to other colonial peoples was to be the question of retention of the *statut personnel*. Thus many of the attempts by the French to deprive the Senegalese citizens of their rights were the result of quite genuine objections to the illogicality of their position. Faidherbe,

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

C48 the main drawback for Mali being the concessions she had to make over the military base at St. Louis. Far from cutting [651] Mali off without a penny as she had Guinea, France promised to continue her aid. Mali's decision to take independence marked the beginning of the end of the Franco-African Community, and indeed of France's political assimilation of her African states.

This done, the Mali Federation was all set for independence. But there were internal hurdles to overcome. Mali may well have been ruled by a unified party, but there were definite differences between Soudanese and Senegalese. Soudan was the larger, more populous territory, but the poorer. It was much more left wing and politically was run very much more strictly than Senegal. The party controlled everything. To appreciate this one must remember [665] that the *R.D.A.* was initially allied to the Communists and had adopted their cell technique for its own party organisation. This system of administration proved most effective and explains why Sékou Touré was able to keep so firm a hold on Guinea after the French had gone. Senegal, however, after three centuries of contact with the French, was much more affected by French ideas of liberty [641] and certainly found this rather ruthless element in its Soudanese partner disturbing. For instance at the constitutional conference preceding independence the Soudanese demanded that a unitary state be created, and that the excess burden of two territorial governments be removed. They also wanted a president with strong powers like those enjoyed by de Gaulle. The Senegalese, who saw many dangers to themselves in such a constitution protested successfully on the moral grounds that it would prevent other states from joining Mali—which was after all the federation's main *raison d'être*. The Senegalese won the day after bitter wrangling. Of course, though Senegal as the richer partner effectively subsidised the federation, she had her own interests in maintaining it since Soudan exported [439] its ground-nuts along the railway from Bamako to Dakar.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

648
[439]

Certain left-wing elements in Soudan had already insinuated that if the Senegalese made trouble, they could easily build a railway line from Bamako to Kankan, the railhead in Guinea, or send their ground-nuts down the road to Bobo Dioulasso and thence by rail to Abidjan. If no Eastern bloc power were forthcoming to help them to do this, they said they could always do it by communal effort.

Despite these differences, independence was achieved on 20 June 1960. On the surface all seemed well. But there was in fact considerable tension and only two months after independence the federation broke up. Matters came to a head when Modibo Keita tried to remove Mamadou Dia, the Vice President, from his post as Minister of Federal Security and Armed Forces, a post the Senegalese felt it was necessary to hold as a guarantee for their participation in the federation. Modibo also tried to call out the army to assert his authority as President. Meanwhile, unknown to the Soudanese, Senghor and the Senegalese ministers had decided that the federation was unworkable in the circumstances and on the morning of 20 June, Modibo Keita and the other Soudanese ministers found themselves under house arrest and the whole of Dakar under the control of the *gendarmerie* and armed supporters of Senghor who had been brought in from the bush. The same day they were packed off by rail and air to Bamako. The details of the break-up need not concern us here. The reasons for it are confused. Each partner in the federation has its own version of the story. The contemporary vocabulary of political abuse has been used to the full by both partners ever since. What is important are not the machinations of one side against the other, but the fundamental defects in the federation. First of all the two states found it almost impossible to co-operate within the framework of an ill and hastily devised constitution. Second it was unfortunately a federation of only two states, meaning that with unbalance of population—Soudan was larger in size and population, but much poorer and

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

for which no trained African staff is available. There is a wide range of professional occupations, but private enterprise by individuals is largely restricted to higher-class shopkeeping and the running of bars and restaurants. Most of the export and import trade is still in the hands of the large commercial houses controlled from France as distinct from individual Frenchmen in Dakar.

Relations between the African and European communities have been remarkably good. There have been no really significant racial conflicts in Dakar since the war. But relations are *negatively* good. That is to say that there is almost no contact between the two groups outside work. The French in Dakar, despite the official assimilationist policy of the mother country, have shown little inclination to extend it on a personal plane during their sojourn in Dakar. On the other hand when they were officially representatives of the colonial Power they rarely attempted to enforce discrimination against Africans. Apart from the time of the unfortunate Vichy episode there has never been any open discrimination in Dakar. Africans always had legal access to all places the French had, though inevitably there were a number of private associations such as the *Amicales des Provinces Françaises* which excluded Africans by definition though never by statute. A visitor might be tempted to think that the absence of Africans from the French-style cafés in the main streets of Dakar indicated some subtle form of discrimination, but in fact any African entering would be served, and the sparseness of African clientele is determined by economic and social reasons. Drinks are enormously expensive in such bistros, and few Muslims, who form the majority of the population in Dakar, care to be seen drinking in public. Nevertheless it is true that proprietors of certain bars do their best to maintain a white clientele.

There is a certain residential separation, once more largely determined by economics. The expensive European

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Goree

everything seems to have been built within the last half-century, an island like Gorée, full of historical sites, stands to remind one how long Africa and Europe have been in contact. Gorée itself has been controlled by many masters: the Portuguese from 1444–1595, the Dutch 1597–1677; the French and British at intervals from 1677–1817, when the island was finally ceded to the French by the Treaty of Paris. Many famous explorers including Nuno Tristão, Fernando Po, Bartholomew Dias and Vasco da Gama and Christopher Columbus, as well as scholars like Camoens and St. Francis Xavier, stayed on the island. A small church was built by Diogo d'Azembuja, the architect of the fort of Elmina on the Gold Coast. The Dutch used Gorée for their trade with the Gold Coast and India, though later it became to its various owners important as a slaving post, as the gracious Maison des Esclaves, built between 1776–1778, witnesses. I was taken there two years ago by an African guide, through a low, damp tunnel into some squalid little cells whose only source of light was from a small grille facing on to the sea; below was a sheer drop on to Atlantic breakers. Into those cells slavers bundled hundreds of miserable wretches, seized from their villages, as often as not by other Africans. There they were imprisoned, their feet held by the heavy balls and chains that still littered the floor, until a ship was ready to take them to the New World. Often more than half of them died on the Middle Passage, and many died waiting in this house because of cold and damp, or just the lack of will to live.

However, in 1794, when Gorée was in French hands, the Revolutionary Convention abolished slavery, and accordingly deprived Gorée of its main source of income. But in 1802 the law was repealed, only to be reinforced again in 1817, so that ironically Gorée, which had been built into a naval base and the administration headquarters of French West Africa, became a major centre for the suppression of the slave trade.

Towards the end of the century Gorée declined at Dakar's expense. By 1929, from having been one of the Quatre Communes, the others being St. Louis, Rufisque and Dakar, sending representatives to the French National Assembly and enjoying equal rights with Frenchmen, it had so declined in importance that it was incorporated into the Municipality of Dakar.

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 Louis stagnated[14] and Gorée declined,
633 losing people at the expense of Dakar and
175 Rufisque; Rufisque grew rapidly, as the
[162] port for the ground-nut. Dakar entered
[439] a period of prosperity at the turn of the century.[15] During the late 19th century the composition of the population already was beginning to change fairly rapidly, especially in the expanding centers, but the old core of urban population continued to hold a dominant place, not only in urban life but also in the colony of Senegal as a whole, whose constitution had come into effect. The people of St. Louis most notably served as essential instruments of the colonization effort.

This dominance was expressed very clearly in the political realm. The coastal cities, in contrast to the interior cities and rural areas, had been introduced to the structure and organization through which modern political life is conducted long before the reforms of 1946. Political activity of the modern type was first limited to the European settlers but was
[563] soon extended to the mixed-blood element and then to the Negro population. Beginning in the late 18th century, St. Louis had a mayor, always a mixed-blood, who served as intermediary between the governor and the populace. In 1789 the
[668] colony participated in metropolitan political activities, sending to the States-General a petition of grievances that demanded commercial freedom — *i.e.*, abolition of the Company monopoly — and the end of slavery. A satisfactory agreement was reached among employees of the Company, European businessmen, and mixed-blood businessmen, but it was never brought to fruition; a period of disorder set in and persisted until the rebirth of the colony in 1815.

[641] In 1833 French citizenship was conferred upon all free inhabitants of St. Louis and Gorée by royal decree. Citizenship was extended to all inhabitants of

[P. 7 B]

/73 cont./

175 369 499 133 The surveys for the future course of this railway revealed that the shortest route would have to follow the Atlantic coast, but since this is bordered by dunes it would necessitate some important construction work. The passage across the slope of Thiès was also a serious obstacle, but the "Ravin des Voleurs" made access to the plateau possible; the line would thus follow the valley which cuts the brow of the hill, then the depression which follows the plateau to the east, and would pass in front of the military fort established at its extremity.

175 369 [361] The fortune of Thiès was made: as early as 1885, the date of the opening of the railroad, the merchants of Rufisque set up branches there; a plan for dividing the future city into lots was outlined. This plan, unfortunately, foresaw the development of the city only north of the line, along the trail connecting Thiès with Rufisque and Dakar. A Catholic [797] mission was established in the vicinity, and in 1893 the first civil administrator occupied the new residence built near the Faidherbe redoubt.

175 369 439 [496] [492] The groundnut policy developed successfully; 20,000 tons of groundnuts were shipped by rail from the Thiès station in 1890 (3). Commerce, however, was not established in

3. Convoys of camels competed with the railway up to 1910 and transported their cargo to the port of Rufisque. Thiès was the last stop before reaching the quays of embarkation 50 kilometers away.

[366] [441] permanent fashion in the escale: only during the period of trading (from November to May) did the European employees sent by the firms of Rufisque live in the city and buy groundnuts, millet, cotton ... at their branches; from May to November they returned to Rufisque, and most of the shops in Thiès were closed, the city seemingly dead.

/14/
of training. This is one of the essential preoccupations of the present Sengalese government.

II. The "Trade" of Groundnuts

For a century the total volume of production has progressed in spectacular fashion. Actually, no statistics are available at the harvesting stage. Only the commercial figures are known with any accuracy. In any case they differ little from the total figure of production because local consumption seems to be of little importance. It is estimated that the average production of groundnuts from 1900 to 1904 was 123,000 metric tons. The more recent figures are the following: 1938-1939 campaign, 584,000 metric tons; 1942-1943 compaign, 183,000 metric tons; 1943-1944 campaign, 281,000 metric tons; 1957-1958 campaign, 808,000 metric tons; 1958-1959 campaign, 653,000 metric tons; 1959-1960 campaign, 720,000 metric tons.

Except for the period of the war, when the production of groundnuts, difficult to export, decreased to the profit of that of millet, progress was continuous, the 1957-1958 campaign being exceptionally favorable.

This production enters into the circuit of commercialization or "trade," which today is very strictly regulated.

1. The organization of "trade." The commercialization of the groundnut has replaced the "trade" in gum, slaves, and gold of the former colonial system. Although the term is still often used, its present context is very different from the acceptation of the era of the colonial pact. Trade is no longer, as Littré wished it to be, an exchange trade organized almost exclusively for the benefit of the European "trader"; today it is a commercial activity that is strictly regulated as to time and place and open only to approved intermediaries.

1.) The "campaign." "The campaign" is the period

/14 cont./

during which commercial operations in groundnuts are authorized. It is opened and closed each year by governmental decree. In general it begins at the end of November or the beginning of December and closes at the end of April. The date of opening the campaign is set about two months after the beginning of the harvest, in order to avoid premature uprooting and to favor the reimbursement of the seed advanced. This system nevertheless leads to some smuggling in the south, because the navétanes, anxious to return home, and the peasants, without any money, are tempted to sell in Gambia. At the time of the close, the transactions have been over for a long time, but this decision prevents the eventual sale /15/ of the seed distributed by the Mutuelles. In order to have the commodity brought in gradually and to avoid heavy transactions at the beginning of trade, operations are suspended from Friday to Monday. Nevertheless by the end of the month of January nearly all of the harvest has been negotiated.

2) The "points of trade." Since 1932 the operations of selling must take place in the localities called points of trade or "escales" located on the railroad or a road (Circular of 13 July 1932). These points of trade, which were 175 in number in 1935, now number more than 300. The limitation, in 1932, on the number of the points of trade was a response to the desire to moderate the rhythm of the selling and to avoid the proliferation of intermediaries. The recent creation of new escales is devoted to the conquest of new lands and is an attempt to avoid the abuses of cultivation on the lands near the former points of trade.

The accession of a locality to the rank of escale makes it legally an urban center, with the obligation of division into lots /lotissement/ and, for the merchants, permanent buildings. The campaign is a period of great animation for the escale. The merchants or traders open their bank of purchase or "factory." Traditionally, intermediaries, or "masters of language," conduct the producer to the factory. The groundnuts, transported by donkeys and in bags loaned by the trader, are weighed and emptied

/15 cont./

442 437 [992] [488] [452] [443] [438] into the secco, an area with a floor of hard earth or cement, closed off by sheet metal. The agriculturalist, paid forthwith, immediately spends the sum received, in settling the sums owed to the trader and in buying from among the manufactured objects of the same factory the most diverse articles: cloth, playthings, articles for bicycles, etc. Thus the same trader realizes two profits in the traditional system.

3) The agents of trade. Until the Second World War, 439 441 442 438 the trade in groundnuts was in the hands of about 3,000 private traders organized in a strict hierarchy. At the top, the trade was controlled by the large import-export houses, especially of Bordeaux origin, Maurel et Prom, Peyrissac, Vézia, etc., to which was added the C. F. A. O. of Marseilles origin, and the S. C. O. A. Franco-Switzerland. These firms, whose central agencies for Senegal are in Dakar, make arrangements for the "banks" and "agencies" in the principal localities, for "factories" in the escales, and for "operations" in the bush. These commercial houses concentrate the purchases of their various traders and provide them with imported products. They are supported during the campaign by the banks of the mother country or their agencies in Senegal.

441 442 438 The independent French merchants, often former employees of the firms, play the role of intermediary /demi-grossiste/ in the escales. /16/ They buy directly from the producers or from the African sub-trader and bag and forward /the product/ to the commercial houses in the shipping ports. They have been very harshly affected by the economic crisis of the 1930's and then [563] by the war, in particular by the mobilization, which facilitated the establishment of many Lebano-Syrian traders.

The treaties of 1919 facilitated the arrival in Africa of [563] these Lebano-Syrians. They devote themselves essentially to commerce, and they have on the whole succeeded, because, living near the autochthons, they have adopted their way of life and are contented with much less than the independent 442 Europeans. During the trade, they are generally commission 443 agents of the firm that they represent. They receive a commis- 438 sion for each metric ton of groundnuts purchased, and sell in

/19 cont./

434 obtained by the ratio of the index of the F. O. B. price of
435 groundnuts to the balanced index of the various import products, led to a more encouraging situation: on a base of 100 for 1949, the ratio of exchange in 1958 would be 114.5 in favor of the Senegalese producer. M. Barbier concludes: "The ratio of exchange for the Senegalese producer has /20/ been improved; the difference in it can be confirmed in most of the underdeveloped areas."

Actually all of these calculations are theoretical, and, on the whole, the living standard of the producer has remained low. The "average" cultivato[illegible]tivating about a hectare, receives less than 20,000 francs C. F. A. for an average yield of 800 kilograms. This sum is modest, and, it must be added, at the time of selling an important part
[452] goes for the settlement of debts in cash and especially in kind, contracted during the winter with the trader at a very high interest rate. It is estimated that the total of these credits represents 20% of the value of the harvest.

435 This fixing of the price at production considerably
●439 reduces the fluctuations of the market, which in fact is governed by the needs of the former mother country.

2) The groundnut market depends on the needs of France. One cannot speak of competition at the selling stage in a market where the purchase prices paid to the producer are authoritatively fixed. In fact the demand essentially depends on Frenc[illegible]eds, as is decidedly expressed in the decree of 13 November 1954 which regulates the importation of oleaginous products in the mother country. Senegal can export to it a quota of 225,000 metric tons oil-equivalent, at a guaranteed minimum price and duty free. This pric[illegible] may vary within narrow limits, around 5%. The regularization of the market is handled by an official body, the Société interprofessionnelle des oléagineux fluides alimentaires (S. I. O. F. A.), solely qualified to import from foreign countries in order to depress prices and bring them back under

/20 cont./
435 439 the maximum price in periods of shortages. On the other hand this body supports the market prices when they are under the minimum price in a period of overproduction, thanks to a maintenance fund provided for by a tax of 2.50 N.F. per metric ton of decorticated groundnuts imported.

Nevertheless, apart from the quota absorbed by the mother country and the satisfaction of local needs, during certain campaigns, 1957-1958, for example, there is a problem of the disposal of large surpluses. At the beginning of 1958, 102,000 metric tons of decorticated groundnuts were available, unpledged by the S.I.O.F.A. In order to ensure disposal, while respecting the price at production, the public authorities created at Dakar, in February 1958, a stabilization body such as exists for coffee and cacao. This body, taking a sixth of the export duty on groundnuts and oil, and a professional assessment, could make good a part of the difference between the world price and that of the franc zone, the remainder being taken care of by the mother country. This body is still far from possessing the financial power of the "Marketing Boards" of Nigeria.

/21/ Just as the public authorities could intervene effectively in a period of abundance, they also had occasion to settle provisionally a dispute between purchasers during the deficient campaign of 1954-1955.

258 435 439 3) Competition between purchasers and the agreement of January 1956. The Senegalese oil-factories, having become very powerful after the war, are prone to acquire great tonnages, which could only lead to competition and conflict with the traditional purchasers for the mother country in a year of shortage. This is what happened during the 1954-1955 campaign, when the harvest amounted to only 390,000 metric tons. Not bound to respect the price set by the intervention of the S.I.O.F.A., the local oil-makers made the price rise. The protests of the buyers for the mother country let to the intervention of the Haut-Commissariat, which fixed 330,000 metric tons of

/21 cont./

258 435 439 groundnuts in shells as the quota assigned to local industries, with the distribution among them to be based on their activities of the previous years.

In order to avoid any repetition of such conflicts, the oil-makers of the mother country and their colleagues in Senegal on 17 January 1956 reached an agreement valid for five years. The local oil-makers can buy 420,000 metric tons of groundnuts in the shell. On the other hand, they can forward to France, under exemption, within the framework of the quota of 225,000 metric tons, only 10,000 metric tons of refined oil. The greatest part of their exports is represented by crude oil exported in accordance with bipartisan agreements by manufacturers of the mother country, on the basis of a price C.F.A. established according to the market price of oil for consumption in France.

III. The Place of the Groundnut in the Present-day Senegalese Economy

258 439 The above reference to the activity of the Senegalese oil-makers now permits the groundnut to be placed in the framework of an economy which has ceased to be solely colonial and which is employed to valorize the product exported.

1. The valorization of exports: decortication. A comparison of the details of the exports of 1935 with those of 1958 is truly eloquent: in fact the exports of groundnuts in shells, which represented 335,000 metric tons in 1935, have disappeared in 1958, while those of the decorticated product have gone from 16,000 to 330,000 metric tons during the same period. At export the transport of the crude product signified that of 28% of the weight in sterile matter, and the attempts to utilize this as fertilizer or for the making of paper were unsuccessful. After the war the acute shortage of maritime tonnage made the practice of decortication general. It is done today at different /22/ stages in the circuit of the groundnut: the place of production, the points of trade, and the

/22 cont./

258 439 ports, especially Kaolack. It is practiced by semi-industrial enterprises, usually dependent on the great commercial houses or the oil-factories, which utilize the decortication frame or tray, shaking tables, and blowers. This operation, which employs many laborers, permits a charge of about one franc C. F. A. per kilo of groundnuts in shells. It nevertheless imposes some problems: that of the rate of decortication, which varies from one campaign to another, around 71%, and that of the risk of acidification. The decorticated product deteriorates quite quickly, and, depending on the [435] times of the campaign, a rate of acidification of more than 3% or 5% causes a reduction in price.

258 Decortication is in fact only a preparation of the raw material. It is the presence today of the powerful oil-factories, constituting the essential part of its industry, that symbolizes the anxiety of Senegal to valorize on its soil its greatest wealth.

2. The Senegalese oil-factory. The industry of the oil-factory is a recent industry in Senegal. The first factory established was that of the Société électrique et industrielle du Baol at Djourbel in 1920. Then, after 1930, with the factory of the Huileries et Savonneries de l'Ouest Africain [388] /West African Oil and Soap Factories/, and especially the Etablissements Petersen, this industry came to Dakar. Nevertheless, until the war, its development was impeded by the protective measures taken at the demand of the oil-factories in the mother country: an export duty of 187 francs per quintal of oil in 1936; and a quota of only 5,800 metric tons, admitted free of import duty, in 1938. The war caused this regulation to disappear, and in 1942-1944 the great factory "Lesieur-Afrique" was established in Dakar.

258 433 After the war, the oil industry modernized its equipment and added to its capacity for trituration, which today amounts to about 500,000 metric tons of peanuts in shells, corresponding to a maximum production of about 165,000 metric tons of oil. Today, 125,000 metric tons of the

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258 product, usually crude, each year leaves the Senegalese
[433] factories, which thus operate under their productive capacity.
[439] About 110,000 metric tons are exported. The traditional technique of manufacture by pressure, with recovery of the oil cake, or "expellers," is being replaced more and more by the procedure with solvents, slightly increasing the rate of extraction of oil, but providing poor oil-cake.

This industry of the oil-factory if now localized in five urban centers: Dakar, Lyndiane, Djourbel, Kaolack, and
[464] Ziguinchor. It employs more than 3,000 wage earners, nearly
[563] 300 of whom are European technicians; on the basis of this it is the primary industry /23/ of Senegal, and the more so since
[388] it has had annexed to it the complementary industry of soap-making, which produced more than 15,000 metric tons of soap from the neutralization paste.

258 The development of the Sengalese industry of oil-making
433 represents a considerable evolution of the economy of the
[439] country, since the groundnut has ceased to be a product of trade in the colonial sense of the term. In fact, the product that traditionally constitutes the great agricultural resource has become the principal raw material of local industry; more than ever, the groundnut keeps Senegal alive.

433 3: The essential position of the groundnut in the economy
241 of Senegal. "Whether or not it is desirable, the economy of Senegal can revolve only with the help of the production of groundnuts." This phrase by M. Porteres sums up the essential position of the product in the local economy. In 1957, for the
[439] whole of former Mali, the total value of the exports rose to 21,085 billions of francs C.F.A., the products of the groundnut accounting for 18,257 billions of this sum, of which more than 15 billions was for Senegal alone. At the same time, of
[162] 2,230,000 inhabitants of Senegal, only 58,700 were non-agricultural workers, that is, non-producers of groundnuts. Actually,
433 however, many of them are supported by them indirectly, in trade, transport, or industry. It is not exaggerated to affirm

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433 that the great majority of the inhabitants of Senegal draw their only monetary resources from the groundnut.

651 For the Senegalese state, the groundnut plays an essential role in the budgetary resources. Without speaking of the various domestic imposts, the products of the groundnut, upon leaving the territory, support multiple duties and taxes: the fiscal export duty varies from 10% to 12% of the value of the product, according to its degree of elaboration; the taxes of inspection and condition are from 1.2% to 1.5%, and, finally, the groundnuts pay the fixed tax of 5.4% on transactions. In addition to these different duties, there are the assessment for the support funds, which is 700 francs C. F. A. per metric ton of groundnuts in shells, and the dues for the local stabilization fund, which vary from 175 francs C. F. A. per metric ton of the product in shells to 500 francs per metric ton of refined oil.

[435] These various imposts correspond to more than 25% of the purchase price given to the producer for the product in shells. In 1957 the taxes gathered on the groundnuts for the [652] benefit of the Senegalese treasury exceeded a total of four billions C. F. A., when the budget proper of the territory for the same year was 8.1 billions.

439 433 Conclusion. The present situation permits a conclusion on the notion of "industrial monocultivation of the groundnut in Senegal." For some, it is /24/ regrettable to write in the passive about the economy of trade; for others it is the criterion of the passage of Senegal into the sphere of a commercialized economy, although in this case based on a single product, since, unlike such countries as the Ivory Coast, the attempts to develop other crops for speculation have not been successful here.

This economy of the groundnut, however, is at a turning point today, due to the evolution of the relations between Senegal and France and the existence of the common market.

In the framework of the former political system, and

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then that of the franc zone, the groundnut of Senegal was traded outside of the world market for the product and could be integrated into it only at the cost of serious disturbances, as a consequence of its very high market price, to these practices when the transactions were made in foreign markets. In 1959, after the two successive devaluations in 1957 and 1958, the French consumer again consented to a sacrifice of 27 old domestic francs per kilo of decorticated groundnuts from Senegal in relation to the world price of the product. From this figure one can deduce that the passage of the Senegalese groundnut into the world circuit would be expressed by a lowering of nearly 30 % of the value of the harvest, that is, of the monetary revenue of the producers, and by a perceptible diminution of the fiscal receipts, if one presupposes the suppression of certain duties, in order to bring together as much as possible the local export price and the world price. The suppression of the private traders and of their margin of profit and the sale of food products or of foreign manufactures at a price lower than that of similar French products, which one can envisage in case of a rupture, do not seem capable of compensating for the lack of gain to the producer no longer benefiting from stable supported prices. In fact, the system of a free association between the Senegalese producer and the French buyer, and for the former a regime of stability and supported prices, and guaranteed sales, would seem to be the wisest solution.

The other problem is that of the existence of the European Common Market, of which France is a member. By virtue of the agreements of Venice of March 1956, an association with the overseas territories of the member nations is anticipated by Article 131 of the treaties. Although the reservations of some African politicians, non-signatories of the treaties, seem justified, nothing remains except that the treaty of Rome seems to offer some interesting prospects for the Senegalese economy. The five partners of France are hardly interested in the groundnuts of Senegal for various reasons. Federal Germany and The Netherlands purchase oleagineous materials at a low price on the world market in the

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433 framework of their commercial activities. Moreover, they are especially great consumers of margarine. Belgium /25/ is concerned about protecting its daily herds and, up to now, the products of the Congo. Finally, Italy gives priority to olive oil. In fact the coincidence of the French shortage of oleaginous materials and the largely excess production of Senegal can lead, within the spirit of the treaty and without contradiction, from the common policy anticipated for certain agricultural products (Art. 39) to the definition of the groundnut as a basic French oleaginous commodity, with the formation of a support fund maintained essentially by France. M. Adler concludes: "On the one side there is sought a product that on the other side no one wants" (5).

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5. Adler, J., "Le Mali et l'archide /Mali and the groundnut/," Marches tropicaux, No. 745, 20 February 1960, pp. 497-498.

On the other hand it seems that in the case of union Senegal could anticipate, through the increasing competition between the local products of the six member countries, an appreciable lowering of the price of articles imported from Europe, from which there is a possibility of an increase in the purchasing power of the groundnut producer, in any case assured of getting a stable income from his harvest, except in the case of very serious natural calamities.

In conclusion it seems, as M. Barbier emphasizes, that for Senegal in the present circumstances the policy of bigamy is preferable to that of divorce.

Yves Pehaut.

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presqu'île du Cap-Vert,"
op. cit., p. 274

square kilometer nevertheless satisfied a double /374/ /Fig. 1 appears here / concern of the Hollanders, security and commerce: security first for the ships, which could find an excellent anchorage in the bay on the northeast of the island, immediately so appreciated that its excellence -- Goede [103] reede, "the good roadstead" in Dutch -- served to designate the establishment under the name of Gorée (8) in distinguishing

8. Nora and Ch. Toupet,
"L'origine du nom de Gorée,"
[113] in Notes Africaines, January 1959,
pp. 17-20, I.F.A.N., Dakar.

it from the other islands of the peninsula; and then, security for the occupants. From this point of view, the insularity would have been a great advantage for the site of Dakar. Finally, with regard to commerce, the island of Gorée, although minuscule, sufficed for barter with the natives of the coast and could well fill its role as a warehouse for products and slaves. As soon as these views were confirmed by the facts, Gorée became the object of competition among the Hollanders, French, and British, finally coming to the French. In spite of this changing of hands, the establishment of Gorée, thanks to [439] [162] [567] the slave trade, /375/ prospered, and around 1845 it harbored more than 5,000 persons. The abolition of the trade, and then that of slavery, around the middle of the century dealt it a mortal blow, bringing about a crisis from which Gorée did not recover. There was indeed an attempt at adaptation to the new conditions, the Goréans trying to make the island a place for commerce with the continent, where the cultivation of the groundnut had already developed, but on this point Gorée could not rival the peninsula. The inhabitants understood it; there were those who encouraged the occupation of Dakar with the idea

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504 1927 and 1933 in the northern zone, where laying out a platform intended for groundnuts was undertaken with the construction of three new piers, one of which was intended for traffic in combustibles. Finally, a maritime wet-dock was installed in the southern zone (11).

11. Coursin (L.) op. cit., p. 278.

Moreover, these new works did not end the construction of the port. Outfitting and new arrangements continued up to the eve of the Second World War and were taken up again immediately afterwards, making the port the complex organ that it is today: /377/ 6,904 meters of quays, of which 2,794 have depths of 20 meters and more, 2,103 meters with depths of 8 to 9 meters, 580 meters with depths of 6.50 to 7.50 meters, and, finally, 1,427 meters reserved for small boats, the total providing quay posts for 31 ships at a time; a water surface of 210 hectares; 682,000 square meters of platforms, of which 53,940 square meters are covered; and, finally, 240,000 square meters of storage space for hydrocarbides (12). These

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12. Synthèse de la situation économique de l'ex-A.O.F. durant la période 1948 à 1958, Vol. IV, p. 712. Publication of the Chambre de Commerce, d'Agriculture et d'Industrie de Dakar.

are the essential elements of the infrastructure of the port of Dakar, which has become a very effective instrument, fully valorizing a favorable location at the crossroads of the heavily traveled maritime routes. Dakar thus receives ships from practically all of the countries possessing a merchant marine; only the flags of Saudi Arabia, Iran, China, and Russia do not wave in the port of Dakar.

•[439] This great frequentation comes about first from the fact

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369 439 504 that Dakar is designated above all as a port d'escale, "a service station," of the tropical Atlantic, provisioning the ships with water and, above all, combustibles; the latter, represented in former times by coal in particular, are now almost entirely made up of hydrocarbides, the export and import traffic of which sometimes represents more than double that of merchandise: 211.1% in 1954, 233.6% in 1955, 186% in 1959.

369 439 487 But, beyond this role as a port d'escale, Dakar thrust ahead as a metropolis, governing a large region. In fact it is via Dakar that food products (rice, flour, sugar, etc.), cloth and thread, industrial products, etc. come in, principally destined for Senegal, Mauritania, and the Sudan, which, in return, send groundnuts, gum, hides wax, etc. to it for export. This situation is the result of struggles in the recent past between Dakar and the old maritime or river ports which shared the light traffic of former times. [505] The construction of the port and modern means of communication with the interior permitted Dakar to eliminate its rivals very quickly.

369 [505] The establishment of Gorée, caught in a crisis since the abolition of slavery, despite the resistance, at first active and then passive, of its municipality (13), has been practically

[113] 13. In the work by J. Charpy (La Fondation de Dakar /The Founding of Dakar/, Larose, Paris, 1958), there is a series of documents on the various aspects of this resistance.

eliminated from the economic circuit since the accomplishment of the great work of the commercial port. Business then emigrated [162] to the continent, while the city went to sleep, losing more and more of its population; from 3,200 inhabitants in 1872, it went to 2,068 in 1891, 1,249 in 1910, 998 in 1921, so that the com- [633] mune was abolished and attached to Dakar in 1929, and then the entire island was classified as a historical monument in 1944.

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369 633 The reconstitution of the municipality in 1956, a simple electoral operation, proved /378/ /Fig. 2 appears here/ to be incapable of giving life to Gorée; at the beginning of 1961 it was forced to reattach itself to Dakar, for which it is nothing more than a tourist annex. Nevertheless, due to the crisis in housing [362] in Dakar, it offers its old houses to workers from the victorious great city.

369 505 496 487 The elimination of the other rival centers was not as easy, but no less radical. The railroad linking Dakar and Saint-Louis, finished in 1885, did not immediately bring about the decline of the old Senegalese capital. On the contrary, asleep since entry up the river became impossible because of the increase in tonnage of the ships, it seems to have gained a revival of activity, especially after the construction of the Kayes-Niger section of the railroad at the end of the century. In fact the products destined for the Sudan or coming from there, which took the path [439] of the Senegal River, were subjected to an obligatory freight-break there, which made Saint-Louis a quite important mart. But the construction of the Thiès-Kayes railroad after the First World War and the /379/development of automobile traffic had the effect, on the one hand, of directly annexing the Sudan to the zone of influence of Dakar, and, on the other hand, of isolating Saint-Louis and the old escales /trading centers/ of the Senegal River and accelerating their economic decline (Fig. 2).

369 [633] Bakel, Matam, Podor, and Dagana are no more than administrative centers without any great economic activity. Saint-Louis, continuing as the capital of Senegal, preserved an appearance of vitality longer. But in 1957 Dakar robbed it of this function to the great despair of its population, which, after a phase of violent opposition, complains today in a passive resistance that the tokens of sympathy and the promises expressed a thousand times in the official speeches of the state authorities do not come to anything.

369 505 439 As for Rufisque, for a long time it had more economic trump cards than Dakar. In fact, when the port had not yet been constructed at Dakar, it was more advantageous to load the

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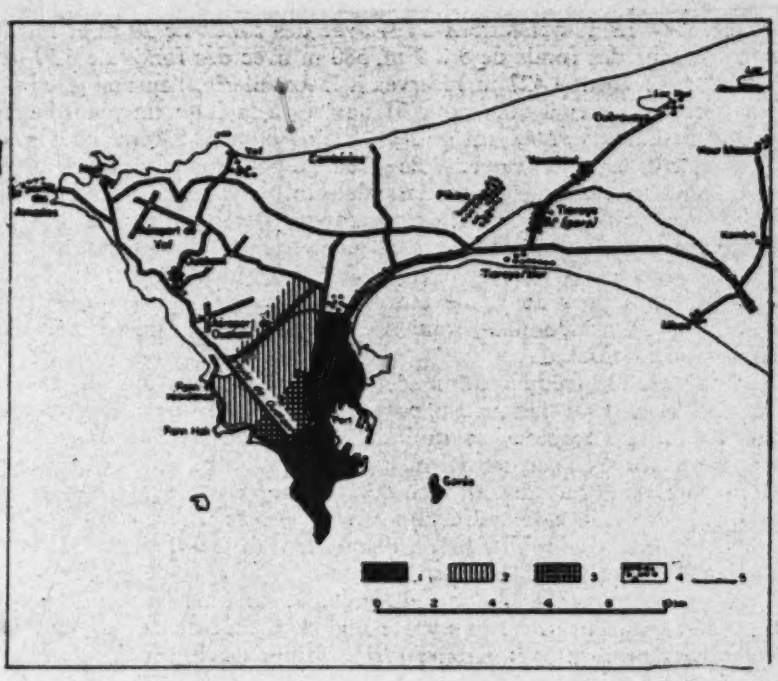

Fig. 2. The quarters of Dakar. --1. Dakar-ville and the industrial zone; 2. Greater Dakar; 3. Médina; 4. villages of the suburbs; 5. railroads.

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groundnuts at Rufisque, nearer to the centers of production in Cayor. Therefore Rufisque soon became the groundnut capital. As early as 1862, 27 European or Gorean merchants were established there (and 12 at Bargny, located three kilometers farther to the east). Three years later, this figure climbed to 35 (14).

14. Note 1 in Fondation de Dakar, op. cit., p. 328.

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The activity at Rufisque was so great and the launching of Dakar so

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369 difficult that the commandant of Gorée, Pinet-Laprade, in a
633 letter of 9 May 1862 (15), proposed to the governor of Senegal

15. Archives of the G. G. A. O. F. 4 B 20, 13 G 299, L 9, in Fondation de Dakar, op. cit., pp. 327-329.

that the authority of the settlement of Rufisque be abolished in order to avoid stifling Dakar. Evidently Pinet-Laprade was not followed, and the declassing of Rufisque, which nevertheless was to intervene later, was the result of a bitter struggle. As
369 soon as it was possible to draw up alongside the quay at the port
505 of Dakar, Rufisque lost the advantage of its situation, which had
504 permitted a saving, in relation to Dakar, of some 30 kilometers of land travel. Actually, this drawing up to the quay by the ships ended the slow transshipments which caused a great loss of
[633] time at Rufisque. Therefore, as early as about 1930, Rufisque had been declassed; in 1933, after the construction of the groundnut platform at the port of Dakar, it did not load more than 10% of the harvest of Senegal, as against 28% at Dakar. Today no maritime loading is done at Rufisque, and the city maintains some economic activity only by grace of a new orientation tending to make it an industrial annex of Dakar.

369 Thus, the elimination of rivals has resulted in a tendency
505 for all of the activity of collecting the products of Senegal,
●439 Mauritania, and the Sudan to be concentrated at a single pole. Only two ports, Kaolack and Ziguinchor, have succeeded in maintaining themselves /380/ and even developing themselves as ports of direct importation and exportation. In 1933 Kaolack exported 52% of the Senegalese harvest of groundnuts, and Ziguinchor nearly 10%, while Dakar had only 28%. Specifically, in addition to a regional exportation equal to half of the Senegalese harvest, Kaolack handled the rail shipments of a large part of the production of eastern Senegal and even of the Sudan. In the case of Ziguinchor, it handled the production of Casamance, which has no other export port. Today the conversion of the

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369 505 439 groundnut before exportation has given Dakar an undisputed advantage over Kaolack. In 1957 the exports of groundnut products (shelled groundnuts, oil cake, oil), which represented only about a twentieth of the total traffic of merchandise in the port of Dakar, was more than the total of the import and export traffic of Kaolack (292,000 metric tons as against 220,000 metric tons). In any case neither Kaolack nor Ziguinchor, both located on rivers which are difficult to enter because of the shifting banks of sand or mud, can be dangerous rivals in any way for Dakar, which, because of this, practically thrusts itself on all of Senegal, Mauritania, and the Sudan. On the other hand, Dakar dominates from afar the three other large maritime ports of former French West Africa, Conakry, Abidjan, and Cotonou, whose total traffic in 1957 equaled only about three-fifths of the traffic of Dakar.

369 [433] But even though the port is the basic instrument of the power of Dakar, there are other additional elements that reinforce this power.

369 509 [487] First there is the place that Dakar occupies in the sphere of aviation. Since the first direct connection with France via the Mediterranean coast of Spain, Morocco, and Mauritania (16), its role has not ceased to grow on the international plane.

16. Marcel M. Chariter, "Dakar, port aérien," op. cit., p. 84.

[508] The hydrobase of Bel-Air and the airport of Ouakam, which served the first trans-Atlantic airplanes, are outclassed today by the great airport of Yoff, which was begun in 1940. Well equipped, this airport of international class and one of the largest airports of Africa is by far the most important one in former French West Africa, accounting by itself in 1957 for a fourth of the airplanes (arrivals and departures), a third of the passengers embarking or debarking in former French West Africa, and half of the passengers in transit. For certain directions, such as South America, the passengers from all of West Africa must embark at Dakar.

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ooo at Dakar.

369 648 [433] Even more than in the sphere of aviation, however, it is on the commercial and industrial plane that the other states of former French West Africa were, before the recent political disturbances, dependent on Dakar. In fact Dakar was the seat [453] of the banks and of the commercial associations or the branch [491] agencies of the mother country, all of whom /Pl. XXI and XXII appear here on unnumbered pages/ /381/exercise from Dakar, if not always a role of direct administration, at least some co-ordination and in any case an influence that is not negligible on the branches scattered across Senegal, former French West Africa, and sometimes even across foreign territories. Thus, the C. F. A. O., the S. C. O. Z., the B. A. O., and the B. C. A., which practice their activities in practically all of Black Africa, although having their seat in Paris, are strongly established in Dakar, from where they manage a number of agencies and branches. On the other hand, the Société Maurel et Prom, which has branches in Senegal, Mauritania, the Sudan, Guinea, and Gambia, the "Commerce Africain," which has establishments in Senegal, Gambia, the Ivory Coast, and the Cameroun, and other companies have their [439] seat in Dakar (17). Moreover it must be added that several in-

17. "Le Commerce Africain" transferred its seat from Dakar to Paris in July 1960.

dustries (oil factories, soap factories, breweries, cement factories, textile factories, shoe factories, etc.) established on the peninsula of Cape Verde send a part of their products to other territories in former French West Africa.

369 633 648 Finally, because of its former function as federal capital, Dakar brought together all of the federal political and administrative organs, which permitted it to direct and co-ordinate all of the political, administrative, and economic life of former French West Africa.

Thus, Dakar became the leader, the undisputed metropolis, upon which there depended a regional assemblage much

[Text continues on p. 17--Analyst]

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361 inhabitants. It had an official center and wide streets, which,
369 however, are not yet paved. Despite this city appearance,
[363] however, Pikine is more intimately dependent on Dakar than the other villages of the suburbs; it is a workman's suburb, and all of its provisioning comes from Dakar, while practically all of its inhabitants are employed in the great city. With this exception, the villages of the suburbs have as their essential
[438] role the provisioning of Dakar with fish and fresh vegetables. Many transportation facilities in common connect them with
[489] Dakar-ville from very early in the morning until around the middle of the night (Pl. XXIII B, Pl. XXIV A and B).

This is the arrangement or juxtaposition of the various elements of the Dakar agglomeration, whose present popula-
[162] tion may well have exceeded 300,000 inhabitants.

369 4. Perspectives. The Dakar agglomeration has the appearance of an unfinished city in the process of being organized, even though its function as a West African metropolis has been confirmed for a long time. There are surprises in this situation for those who analyze the old European urban civilizations, where one sees an ancient city existing as /391/ /Fig. 6 appears here/ one that patiently developed its relations in order to become a metropolis and to constitute a solid and dynamic assemblage where urban and metropolitan functions mutually support one another. Dakar, however, is above
369 all a center of relations which has woven with its hinterland
• 439 connections that have the appearance of complementary ties,
433 but which actually are ties of dependence: dependence in fact because in the Senegalese and Sudanese interior the development of export crops is tied up with the means of evacuation organized by Dakar; dependence also because the export crops, in breaking up the former village autarchy, have given Dakar the role of a great relay-station in the importation of food products in compensation and manufactured products which have become a necessity there where formerly they were unknown; dependence, finally, not only for the Senegalese and

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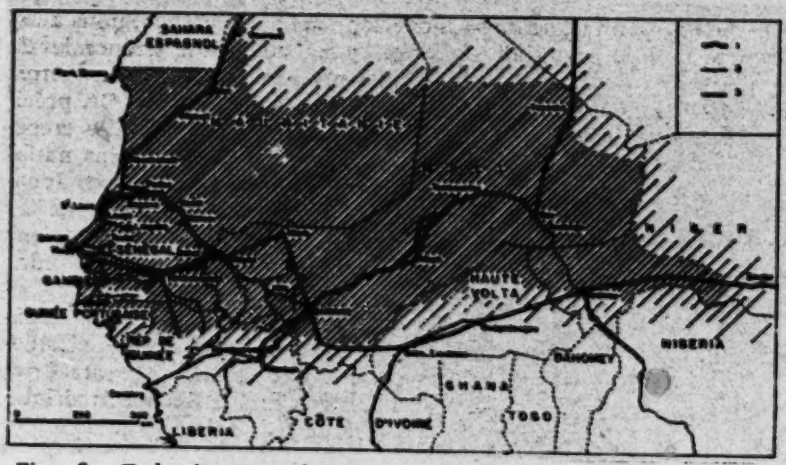

Fig. 6. Dakar's zone of economic influence.
1. Navigable course; 2. railroad;
3. road.

369 Sudanese interior, but also for the whole of former French West
433 Africa through the role of management that the administrative
439 offices, the banks, and the great commercial agencies play from Dakar.

In truth, however, this pre-eminence of Dakar which rests only on its role as a relay-station, a "service station," which receives for redistribution, carries with it grave weaknesses. And first of all it is necessary to note that the influence of Dakar, which extends supremely over a regional assemblage larger than France, is actually /392/ nothing less than a sign of the underdevelopment of the regions thus dominated. It in fact signifies for them an economy of trade, without local conversion of the products, with few urban centers playing an important role in regional management. Now, precisely this influence, while maintaining the economy of trade, prevents any new orientation of the economy in a national sense. Because of this, the ties uniting Dakar with its zone of influence appear to be of the same nature as those that tie the colonies to their mother countries, or, more accurately, they are only shackles; the nationalism of the new states will confuse them in a similar

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369 433 439 condemnation.

Consequently it is necessary to emphasize the same instability of this role of Dakar as a relay-station. Already strongly rivaled in its function of provisioning ships by such [505] ports as Las Palmas and Santa Cruz of Tenerife (25), better

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25. Nicolas, J.-P., "Les hydrocarbures de soute à Dakar; 2e rapport. Eléments d'information sur la position concurrentielle des îles Canaries, 15 Nov. 1960 /The hydrocarbides stored at Dakar; 2nd report. Data on the competitive position of the Canary Islands, 15 Nov. 1960/," I.F.A.N., Dakar.

located on the direct route between Europe and South America, Dakar is no longer an imperative stop in the tropical Atlantic because of the greater autonomy of the ships in the matter of provisioning. On the other hand, the recent political evolution which has led to the "Balkanization" of former French West Africa has not only broken all the administrative and political ties which were among the most notable elements of the power of Dakar, but it has also permitted at Conakry, Abidjan, and Cotonou other possible relay-stations for the interior regions to become rivals, more and more limiting the zone of influence of Dakar. The recent breakup of the Federation of Mali, completely and at a single stroke turning the traffic between Senegal and the Sudan toward Abidjan in particular and to a lesser extent toward Conakry, is a particularly striking example of the instability of the position of Dakar. In the present state of affairs, nothing remains for Dakar but the Senegalese interior and Mauritania, and this latter country, which is building its own port at Port-Etienne, is seeking to free itself (Fig. 6).

Thus, grave threats weigh on the metropolis of Dakar. In any case, even in the eventuality of a recovery in the

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369 433 439 economic relations between Senegal and Sudan, or better, in the eventuality of the formation of a West African common market, the role of collection which has perpetuated the superiority of Dakar is today threatened by decline because of the nationalism of the states and their desire to convert their own products locally. It therefore seems that salvation for this metropolis in a virtual crisis is not in an illusory rebirth of its former role, but in a new and unequivocal orientation of its activities. It should no longer be a pole of suction, but become a pole of development of the hinterland.

Assane Seck.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

7. HISTORY

SENEGAL is the oldest French colony in Africa. From it the Niger basin has been penetrated and the Sudan conquered. On it has been based the modern Federation. For more than two centuries, therefore, its history was that of French West Africa as a whole, and it is not until the close of the Napoleonic era that the domestic history of the colony becomes distinguishable. 175

The Early Nineteenth Century

The Peace of Paris restored the colonial *status quo* of 1 January 1792, but St. Louis was not returned to the French until 1817. The British occupation of Senegal had been purely military, with no attempt to introduce British civil administration. French officials had continued their duties, and, when they had died, had been succeeded by other Frenchmen. The resumption of French rule after the war, therefore, presented no difficulties. The country was fairly well known, and explorers used St. Louis more as a starting-point for distant journeys than to make new discoveries in Senegal itself. The British expedition of 1816 under Peddie and Campbell and the French one of 1818 under Mollien added considerably to European knowledge of Fouta, Ferlo, and Bondou, although their main objects were to penetrate Fouta Jalon. 175 648

Attempts at European Colonization. In 1815 France agreed to the abolition of the slave trade, although the law embodying this decision was not passed for another three years. As the trade had previously been the key to the prosperity of Senegal, a new economy had to be devised. Experiments were consequently made with European settlers, who were to produce cotton and other tropical products. To execute these schemes, Louis XVIII appointed as first post-war Governor Colonel Schmaltz, who had lived for a number of years in the Dutch East Indies. Tragedy attended his voyage out. The ship carrying him, the *Méduse*, was wrecked in Arguin bay on 2 July 1816. The Governor and his wife were saved, but there were many deaths from drowning; and hunger, thirst, and exposure killed many who reached the shore. Out of one party of seventeen only three survived. Another party of 152 persons, including women and children, crowded on to one raft. Many were washed off by waves, many went mad, and many died of thirst. After thirteen days of horror, fifteen survivors were picked up, five of whom died before 175 167 [439] [567]

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Mali MS 35

development principally on the native farmer. Trade, not agriculture, took the French farther up the river. In 1820 the post of Bakel was founded, and, under the auspices of Governor Roger, the Société de Galam established stations at Medine, at Mahina, and on the Falémé. The foundation of the company marked a partial return to the monopolistic policy of the previous century. Trade on the upper Senegal was reserved to the company from 1 January to 1 August each year. This caused much dissatisfaction, and the restriction disappeared with the winding-up of the company in 1840.

Like Brue, his predecessor of 120 years before, Roger explored Bambouk for its mineral wealth, but decided that the soundest method of developing Senegal was to expand its trade and agriculture.

The Gum Trade. After the attempts at European colonization had failed, there developed in the gum trade a boom which reached its maximum in 1838. It will be remembered that, by the Peace of Paris, Great Britain had retained the exclusive right of carrying on this trade along the coast between Portendick and Arguin bay. Elsewhere the French reserved all this trade for their own nationals. Like other trades of the time, that in gum was carried on under a system of subsidies (*coutumes*) to native chiefs and fixed markets (*escales*). This system has been described above on p. 327, and was extremely lucrative to the Arabs. Moreover, the French Government in its treaties usually undertook to pay a subsidy to the chiefs, partly as ground rent for the posts it might establish in their territory, and partly in consideration of the goodwill and protection they were to afford to French trade.

Even so, the years between 1830 and 1860 saw material French extension and development. The following figures (the first two of which represent imports only) show the growth of trade of Senegal from the days of André Brue to those of Faidherbe.

Year	*Thousands of francs*
1700	700
1786	7,260
1821	2,100
1830	3,000
1837	7,000
1838	17,000
1839	13,600
1840	11,800
1845	23,000
1853	14,500
1863	33,100
1869	25,900

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 39
Wolof MS 30
Trarza MS 24

From 1836 onwards treaties were made with the chiefs of the Casamance basin, and posts were constructed at Sedhiou, Karaban, and Diembering. These treaties respected Portuguese historic but obsolete rights at Ziguinchor, but effectively guaranteed that the future of the river should be French.

The abolition of the status of slavery by France in 1848 deprived the French merchants of a cheap supply of labour, which they had rented from the chiefs, and in 1850 a committee was appointed to consider withdrawal from the colony or, as an alternative, the establishment of French authority. It decided in favour of the latter, and the policy of trade treaties came to an end.

The new French policy, to which Napoleon III was pledged, was summed up as 'absolute freedom of commerce with the suppression of the escales; establishment of security, by force if necessary; the substitution of full and entire authority for the system of treaties and subsidies; methodical organization of expansion towards the interior; and concurrently the development of economic institutions'.

'By Force if Necessary'

Faidherbe. It was to carry out this policy that Faidherbe was appointed Governor of Senegal in December 1854. He had already had much experience as a soldier and administrator in the colony, and, with a break of eighteen months, he held office till July 1865. His period of office marked a turning-point in the history of Senegal, and he is justly remembered as one of the builders of the modern French Colonial Empire. At first his resources were pitifully small. He had four companies of marine infantry, a company of native infantry formed on the liberation of the slaves in 1848, sixty spahis, and some detachments of artillery and engineers. His naval strength was on a similar scale. Both were substantially strengthened in the next few years.

The Arabs. Faidherbe decided to deal with the Trarza Arabs. Notwithstanding the treaty of 1835, they had continued their marauding expeditions across the river, and had re-established a supreme influence over the Ouolofs of Oualo. Early in 1855 the Trarza chief Mohammed el Abib insolently demanded the French evacuation of certain islands near the mouth of the Senegal. Faidherbe marched against him and defeated him near St. Louis on 15 February. On 25 February the Ouolofs were defeated near Rosa. The French captured more than 2,000 cattle and burned 20 villages.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Soninke MS 21

development must be by native farmers guided by French instructors and aided by French capital. In 1861 French colonial trade, which had hitherto been restricted to French merchants and the French flag, was thrown open to all nations, though French goods continued to have a preference. This reform was not well received by the conservative merchants of St. Louis, but there can be no doubt that it rapidly proved of benefit to the colony.

Mahmadu Lamine. The last challenge to French rule within the boundaries of Senegal arose from a Soninké mallam named Mahmadu Lamine. Having returned from a pilgrimage to Mecca, he set up as a holy man at Medine and proceeded to interfere in the domestic concerns of the natives of Bondou. Rebuffed by their rightful ruler, he installed himself at Sénoudébou early in 1886, proclaimed himself a mahdi, and claimed a holy mission to restore the ancient power of the Sarakollé dynasty (Vol. I, p. 168). In March and April he attacked the fort of Bakel, at the head of 12,000 fanatics, but was repulsed. In May Colonel Frey marched out from St. Louis with a strong column which relieved Bakel. Notwithstanding this, Mahmadu again invaded Bondou, where he defeated and killed the king. Then he attacked the French post at Sénoudébou, crossed the Senegal, and endeavoured to cut the French communications between Bakel and Kayes. Galliéni himself, who had been recently appointed to command the troops in Upper Senegal, took the field against him and broke his power in several engagements. The mallam fortified himself at a village 46 miles south-west of Tambacounda. This village was taken by the French on 8 December 1887. Mahmadu escaped; but he was attacked by allies of the French on 9 December, and two days later died of his wounds. All the tribes of the country north of the Gambia boundary then sought French protection. Later disturbances in Senegal had their origin either in internal tribal dissensions or in dislike of closer control by France. In all respects they were minor affairs.

The Consolidation of French Rule. The original treaties, of which the French negotiated some 130 between 1785 and 1891 with the chiefs of Senegal, dealt with trade only. They fixed the rents and rates payable by each individual trader, and usually gave subsidies to the chiefs in return for their goodwill. These treaties did not attempt to deal with the internal administration of the tribes or with their foreign relations. The next stage was a treaty of friendship and protection, in which the native state was free to conduct its own affairs, subject only to the general guidance of French Residents.

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36 [131] [162] BIGNONA (12° 49′; 16° 16′ W.). Altitude, *c.* 60 feet. Population, 1,611. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Military post. Emergency landing-ground. Garage.

Bignona stands on the left bank of a small and marshy tributary of the Casamance. Canoes carry a certain amount of merchandise, as [438] also do lorries. The principal items of trade are ground-nuts, palm [162] kernels, wax, rice, and fruit. Most of the native inhabitants are Dioulas.

Colonial roads lead south to the Casamance opposite Ziguinchor [491] (16 miles), east to Sedhiou (58 miles) and Kolda (120 miles), and north-west to Diouloulou (35 miles) and the frontier of the Gambia (46 miles). There are also several minor roads and tracks.

[131] [162] DAGANA (16° 27′; 15° 34′ W.). Altitude, 13 feet. Population, *c.* 3,500. District headquarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Race-course.

[439] Dagana is on the left bank of the Senegal, and its chief economic function is as a market for Mauritanian gum. This is shipped down [487] river to St. Louis, 116 miles away. There is also connexion upstream to Podor (61 miles), Bakel (403 miles), and Kayes (487 miles).

[491] By colonial road Dagana is 86 miles from St. Louis and 332 miles [494] from Kidira. It is on the bus service (p. 474) between these two places. Southwards another colonial road leads across sparsely inhabited country to Dahra (89 miles) and Diourbel (162 miles). From the opposite bank of the Senegal a track goes to Mederdra, some 30 miles distant.

[131] [162] DIOURBEL (14° 39′; 16° 10′ W.). Altitude, 39 feet. Population, 15,442. Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Police headquarters. Emergency landing-ground. Power station. Hotel. Garage. Daily market.

This flourishing town lies across the little Sine river in the middle of a well-cultivated shallow valley. To the north the ground rises [438] somewhat. Diourbel owes its prosperity to ground-nuts, and 100,000 tons of them pass through the town every year. There are [258] several factories for the shelling of the nuts and for the expression of their oil. Besides this, Diourbel is the headquarters of the province [162] of Baol and a route centre. Its inhabitants are mainly Moslems, who [87] have a large and important mosque. There is also a special school for sons of chiefs.

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The electric power station has a gas-engine plant that burns the residue from ground-nut presses.

Communications. Diourbel is the railway junction for Routes 3 and 4. By the former it is 50½ miles from Thiès and 302 miles from Kidira, and by the latter it is 31 miles from Touba. The intercolonial road leads westwards to Thiès (65 miles) and Dakar (109 miles) and south-eastwards to Kaolack (40 miles), Tambacounda (230 miles), and Nayes (351 miles). Colonial roads go north-eastwards to Dahra (73 miles) and Dagana (162 miles) and south-westwards to Fatik (25 miles) and Kaolack (53 miles).

LOUGA (15° 37′; 16° 16′ W.). Altitude, 128 feet. Population, 4,390. Mixed Commune. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Landing-ground. Regional School. Power station. Garage. Race-course. Agricultural experimental station and farm school. Daily market.

Louga is the scene of the most important cattle market in the whole colony. It is this that has made it a route centre. Other local products are ground-nuts, gum, and millet. Administratively, Louga is the headquarters of the province of the same name and also a military headquarters.

Electricity is supplied by an oil-driven plant.

Communications. Louga stands at the junction of railway routes 1 and 2, being 119 miles from Dakar, 44 miles from St. Louis, and 81 miles from Linguéré. It is on the intercolonial road from Dakar (121 miles) to St. Louis (47 miles). A colonial road runs eastwards across the colony to Dahra (59 miles), Linguéré (84 miles), and Matam (242 miles). There are also minor roads and tracks.

PODOR (16° 35′; 15° 02′ W.). Population, 3,168. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Garage. Daily market.

This riverside town is chiefly important for gum arabic. The gum is brought by the Arabs, sold in the market, and shipped down the Senegal to St. Louis.

Communications. By river Podor is 178 miles from St. Louis and 437 miles from Kayes. Throughout the year the Messageries Africaines run a fortnightly service to and from St. Louis. From July to January the boats also go upstream as far as Matam (234 miles) and in August and September to Kayes. Podor is on the colonial road, being 135 miles from St. Louis and 288 miles from Nayes. There is a ferry across the river to connect with tracks to such Mauritanian

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647 656 *Produce Inspection.* Produce inspection is entrusted to a board nominated by the Chambers of Commerce, but the Government keeps a tight control by exercising a veto on all important appointments to its staff. The Board's inspectorate has very wide powers of inspection over produce, whether destined for local consumption or for export. No produce to which inspection applies can be sent out [439] of the colony without a certificate of purity.

[651] For this inspection a special tax of 5 francs per ton on ground-nuts and palm kernels, and 20 francs per ton on rubber, is imposed on produce intended for export.

456 654 [647] *Native Provident Societies.* There are 14 Native Provident Societies. Bignona and Ziguinchor have combined, but otherwise there is one to each province. In 1937 they had 1,200,000 members, whose annual subscriptions varied from 2·50 francs to 5·00 francs each, and their expenses were some 25,000,000 francs. They supplied over 44,000 tons of ground-nut seeds to their members.

[232] In earlier days the Sine-Saloum society imported stallions from the Argentine for the breeding of mules, and in 1932 the societies devoted nearly 250,000 francs to the purchase of motor vehicles. In cattle-breeding districts they supply breeding stock and improve water-supply and pasturage. By 1933 it was estimated that the societies had sunk over 1,200 wells, while the society of Thiès had [317] constructed a barrage for irrigation purposes.

In addition to strictly agricultural activities, the Senegal societies [926] help their members by advances of cash, which are made not only to meet failure of crops, but also in cases of individual accident or illness.

Mining

656 316 At the end of 1937 the following permits were in force:

Personal licences		4
The Occupation System		
Exclusive licences	10	
Mining licences	32	
Concessions	16	
	—	58
Total		62

Education

871 1197 The first attempts to educate the natives of French West Africa were made in Senegal, and they were also remarkable for being instituted, not by missionaries, but by the Crown. Colonel Schmaltz

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ST. LOUIS

30 yards. Immediately east of it is the Place St. Germain, on the south-west side of which stands the main railway station. 361

The western side of the Langue de Barbarie has been reinforced by groynes and a sea-wall.

The town as a whole is well planned, and it has many shops and offices.

Trade

The chief exports are oil-seeds and skins. Imports are mainly manufactured goods. In 1937 the former weighed 30,400 tons and were valued at 31,600,000 francs (£253,990), and the latter weighed 8,300 tons and were valued at 11,900,000 francs (£95,640). 439

Description of Port

Anchorages. Outside the bar at the river mouth there is anchorage in 9–11 fathoms. Inside it there is again a depth of 11 fathoms, which gradually decreases until it is 5 fathoms just below Faidherbe Bridge. 504 [133]

Quays. The principal quays are on the east side of the island. North Quay (Plate 115), above Faidherbe Bridge, is 1,050 feet long, and South Quay, below it, is 1,770 feet long with an alongside depth of 12 fathoms. At the harbour station in Sor there is a jetty 600 feet long with a wharf at its head. There are four small piers on the island, whose positions are shown in Fig. 53.

Equipment. There is a steam crane some 600 yards above the North Quay and a slipway a little higher still. Minor repairs can be effected, but facilities are generally poor.

Fuel. A small stock of coal is kept, but no oil.

Communications

Rail. There are three railway stations (p. 467) in Sor, and the main station is the terminus of the line to Dakar (Route 1). 498

Road. The intercolonial road to Thiès (124 miles) and Dakar (168 miles) starts from the Place St. Germain and then turns south when clear of the goods station. At this point the Imperial road branches off north-east to Rosso (66 miles) and ultimately to Tindouf (1,315 miles). There is a bus service twice a week to and from Matam and Nayes. 491 494

Air. The airfield is 3¼ miles north-east of Place St. Germain. Its surface is hard clay and it has one hangar. In normal times there is a weekly Air France service to Dakar. 508 509

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Dakar

Trade

Imports and Exports. Dakar is the outlet for almost the whole of French West Africa north of the forest. In particular it serves the most fertile and prosperous parts of Senegal and French Sudan. The principal export is, of course, ground-nuts, and others are gold, gum, shea butter, kapok, and hides. Imports include manufactured goods of all kinds, coal, oil fuel, wine, sugar, and flour. In 1937 imports totalled 1,298,700 tons to the value of 763,200,000 francs (£6,134,060) and exports 1,284,300 tons to the value of 572,300,000 francs (£4,599,740). This represents some 40 per cent. of the total trade of the Federation.

Manufactures. In or near the town are brickworks, a brewery, candle factories, charcoal furnaces, ice factories, sisal cleaning plants, sack factories, saw-mills, and factories for extracting ground-nut oil. There are also native handicraft workers. West of the town there are two basalt quarries, which are connected to the harbour by a railway line.

There are several trade unions.

Finance. The Port of Dakar has its own budget. In 1938 this balanced at 10,792,486 francs (£66,212). The principal items of revenue were the dues on the loading and discharge of cargo, which brought in 4,150,000 francs, the dues paid by ships, which brought in 1,566,000 francs, and the charges for the use of port equipment, which brought in 1,115,700 francs. The principal items of expenditure were 4,912,166 francs on wages and salaries of employees and 2,551,770 francs on the materials used in the maintenance of the port.

Description of Port

Anchorages. Outside the harbour there is good anchorage in 10 fathoms. Inside depths are greater, and there is space for a large number of vessels.

Quays and Wharfs. The main basins of the harbour are divided off from Goree bay and Dakar Roads by the North Jetty. This runs south-eastwards from the shore for nearly 1,200 yards and then turns southwards for its last 550 yards. Here are found the oil berths, and at the end of it is a light. Three moles project from the landward side of the main jetty. Behind No. 5 Mole, the nearest to the land, there is a large open space used for storing dumps of ground-nuts (Vol. I, Plate 84). This end of the harbour is a seaplane base, with a hangar on the shore. On the north-west side there are some

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504 small piers and a slipway. A quarter of a mile south of the slipway are the naval oil-fuel tanks, which are at the northern end of the dockyard. This has, among other works, a large basin and a dry [498] dock, and behind it are the railway goods station and workshops. Just beyond its southern corner is the main station, but extensions of the line run on to the wharfs. On the south side of the harbour are the three principal commercial basins, separated from each other by moles. The easternmost of these is the South Jetty, at the northern [502] end of which is another light, only 275 yards from the end of North Jetty.

From Dakar point a breakwater runs for 1,000 yards south-east and east.

Alongside depths vary from 21 feet at No. 1 Mole to 34 feet at No. 8 Mole, and the total length of quays and oiling berths, apart from those in the dockyard, is 13,861 feet.

Warehouses. There are warehouses on No. 1 Mole, No. 2 Mole, and No. 3 Mole, and all along the south side of the harbour.

Equipment. The dry dock is 656 feet long and 93 feet wide and can be divided into two parts. There are numerous cranes of all types, including floating cranes. The two largest of these are each of 125 tons. Repair facilities are good, and the port is well supplied with tugs, launches, and lighters.

Fuel. The commercial oil-fuel tanks are on the south shore of Hann bay. Behind them is a goods station. Additional naval oil tanks are farther north-west. A pipe-line connects the commercial tanks to the oil berths at the end of North Jetty. Coal is stored on ● [439] No. 8 Mole. It is very largely imported from South Wales. Good stocks of both fuels are normally held.

Communications

498 *Rail.* Dakar is the terminus of the railway from Thiès and St. Louis (Route 1). From Thiès Route 2 runs to Kidira (396 miles) and ultimately to Koulikoro (801 miles). The main station is at the south-east corner of the harbour, close to the dockyard.

491 *Road.* It has already been stated that the intercolonial road runs north from the end of Avenue Gambetta. It follows the curve of Hann bay to Rufisque (15 miles) before going to Thiès (44 miles). A minor road leads north-westwards to Ouakam (5 miles) and Yof (8 miles). There are also other minor roads.

508 *Air.* The airport lies nearly 5 miles north-west of the main town,
509 and has hangars and workshops. In 1939 Dakar was on the Air France

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[RUFISQUE]

439 Rufisque was the first port from which ground-nuts were exported, and to-day ground-nuts are still the main article of trade. In the first quarter of 1939 it exported 25,152 tons of them. On the north side
504 of Goree bay, Rufisque can only handle small ships. There is anchorage off shore in 3–7 fathoms, but from July to November heavy swell makes it almost unusable.

633 Since 1937 the town has been in the District of Dakar.

Jetties and Equipment. There are three jetties with alongside depths
504 of at least 9½ feet. Two of these are of iron, one being 603 feet long and 33 feet wide with an extension by a wharf 65 feet long and 52 feet wide. The third is of concrete and is 656 feet long. Decauville tracks connect these jetties to the railway. There is one 5-ton crane and one 2-ton, besides smaller ones. There are 4 tugs and 2 lighters.

Communications

496 *Rail.* By rail Rufisque is 17 miles from Dakar, 26½ miles from Thiès, 146 miles from St. Louis, and 268 miles from Tambacounda.

491 *Road.* The intercolonial road runs from Dakar (15 miles) through to Thiès (29 miles), where it divides. Eight miles beyond Rufisque a colonial road branches off it to go to M'Bour (38 miles), Joal (61 miles), and Fatik (101 miles). Another colonial road goes north-eastwards from the town to Sangalkan (6 miles) and Kayar (17 miles).

36 [131] [162] M'Bour (14° 21′; 16° 57′ W.). Population, *c.* 4,500, including 175 Europeans. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Custom-house. Medical post. Police station.

The town of M'Bour stands at the head of a shallow cove which extends for a mile out to sea as a passage between two reefs. Inside [504] the cove the water is up to 4½ feet deep, and there is a wharf used by surf-boats. Ships anchor 2½ miles off shore, but heavy swell makes [439] conditions difficult from June to November. Ground-nuts and millet are exported.

[491] M'Bour is on the colonial road from Rufisque (38 miles) to Joal [491] (23 miles) and Fatik (63 miles). Several minor roads lead inland, [494] notably one to Thiès, along which there is a bus service twice a day. For half the year there is also a service to Joal.

[131] [162] Joal (14° 09′; 16° 51′ W.). Population, *c.* 900. Custom-house. Roman Catholic mission.

Joal was founded by the Norman Company in the middle of the [175] seventeenth century. It was captured by the Dutch in 1677 and by

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[JOAL]

the British 70 years later, and it did not finally become French until 1763. It is on a sandspit in front of a coastal lagoon. Off shore there is a large sandbank, exposed at low tide. 36 [175]

There is a small wharf, but, owing to the difficulty of access, there is very little trade. In 1937, for example, only 4,600 tons of goods were handled and their value was 4,600,000 francs (£36,970). [504] [439]

The colonial road from Fatik (40 miles) to M'Bour (23 miles) and Rufisque (61 miles) runs through the town. There are also minor roads. From November to June there is a bus service to M'Bour and Thiès four days a week. [491] [494]

FOUNDIOUGNE (14° 06′; 16° 29′ W.). Population, 2,734. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Custom-house. Medical post. [131] [162]

Foundiougne is on an island formed by the Saloum, the Djomboss, and their connecting channels. Much of the district is swampy, but the town itself is on a piece of firm ground on the left bank of the Saloum, 33 miles from the sea.

Anchorage in the river is in 3½ fathoms. There are 8 wharves, of which 1 is owned by the municipality. [504]

The principal export is ground-nuts, but in recent years Foundiougne has declined in prosperity. This is owing to the rise of Kaolack, which is better situated on the north bank of the river and which has much better communications. [A39] [433]

There is a ferry across the river, and from its far side a rough road leads to Fatik. South of the river there is a colonial road eastwards to Kaolack (32 miles). Along both these roads there is a bus service, daily in the dry season and fortnightly in the wet. [491] [494]

FATIK (14° 18′; 16° 27′ W.). Population, 3,521, including 128 Europeans. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Medical post. Police station. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Garage. [131] [162]

At Nonane, on Marigot de Fatik 14½ miles above its junction with the Saloum, is the site of one of the old *escales*. This is the upper limit for boats drawing 10 feet, but smaller craft can ascend a further 7 miles to Fatik, 58 miles from the sea. The town is on the right bank of the river, which is here called the Sine. [505] [487]

Trade is chiefly in ground-nuts. [439]

Colonial roads lead north to Bambey (27 miles), south-east to Kaolack (28 miles), and south-west to Joal (60 miles), and a minor road south to Foundiougne. [491]

The landing-ground is half a mile west of the town.

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36 [131] [162] KAOLACK (14° 07′; 16° 07′ W.). Population, 21,973. Mixed Commune. Headquarters of the province of Sine-Saloum. Custom-house. Chamber of Commerce. Medical post. Police headquarters. Meteorological station. Landing-ground. Wireless station. Regional School. Roman Catholic mission. Bank of West Africa. Banque Commerciale Africaine. Hotels. Garages. Race-course.

[439] Kaolack exports more ground-nuts than any other port in the Federation. It is a well-planned town with squares and trees, and it is on the right bank of the Saloum, 71 miles above its mouth, where [487] [505] the river is 100 yards wide. It is the limit of navigation for sea-going ships.

[162] In 1904 Kaolack had only 300 inhabitants, but the development of communications in the neighbourhood has caused it to grow to its present size. The figure given above is for the permanent popu- [166] lation only. At the height of the ground-nut season there are an additional 20,000 temporary inhabitants.

Trade

[439] During the first quarter of 1939 Kaolack exported 32,259 tons of ground-nuts (Plate 122), as against 26,832 tons from Dakar. Owing to the bar across the Saloum, however, many ships do not load to their maximum capacity but go on to Dakar to complete their lading. [258] Across the river from the town is a large salt-works.

The Port

[504] On the north bank there are concrete quays with a total length of over 2,000 feet and on the south bank there is a small wharf. At Lyndiane, 9 miles downstream, is a wharf belonging to the firm of Peyrissac et Cie.

Communications

[498] *Rail.* Kaolack is the terminus of Route 5 to Guinguiné (14 miles), and is therefore 142 miles from Dakar. It is also the terminus of Route 6 to Lyndiane (6½ miles). Both stations are close to the river, and there is a line directly on to the quays.

[491] *Road.* Intercolonial roads lead northward to Gossas (25 miles), Thiès (82 miles), and Dakar (126 miles), eastward to Kaffrine (37 miles) and Tambacounda (188 miles), and south-south-westward to Messira (49 miles) and the frontier of the Gambia (57 miles). The last-named road crosses the Saloum by a bridge. A colonial road goes north-west to Fatik (28 miles), another south-east to Nioro

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[KAOLACK]

(33 miles) and Medina (50 miles), and a third west to Foundiougne (32 miles).

Air. The airfield is 1 mile north-east of the town.

Wireless. The wireless station is in the centre of the town.

Shipping. Boats of the Messageries du Sénégal line call regularly, and the Compagnie de Navigation Paquet maintains a weekly service with Foundiougne, Bathurst, and Dakar.

ZIGUINCHOR (12° 32′; 16° 21′ W.). Population, 6,070. Mixed Commune. Headquarters of the Casamance Territory and of the Province of Ziguinchor. Custom-house. Magistrate's Court. Chamber of Commerce. Hospital and maternity home. Police headquarters. Meteorological station. Emergency landing-ground. Wireless station. Roman Catholic mission. Garages. Daily market.

The first large piece of firm ground upstream from the mouth of the Casamance is nearly 42 miles from the sea, and it is here, on the left bank, that Ziguinchor stands. The depth of the river is 6 fathoms. Jetties have been built at right angles to the waterfront, partly to counteract silting, and ships drawing 15 feet can go alongside them. The quays have a total length of over 3,000 feet and the warehouses a total capacity of some 25,000 tons. There are no cranes, all goods being manhandled.

There is a considerable variety of exports, including ground-nuts, fruit, rice, palm oil, palm kernels, cotton, tobacco, sisal, and hides, but imports are chiefly manufactured goods and building materials. In value of trade Ziguinchor comes between Foundiougne and Rufisque.

Communications

Road. The river is crossed by a ferry, and a colonial road leads north to Bignona (16 miles) and then east to Sedhiou (74 miles) and Kolda (136 miles). Another one goes along the south bank of the Casamance, also to Kolda (130 miles). Minor roads lead south to the frontier of Portuguese Guinea and south-west to Oussouye and Diembering.

Air. Seaplanes can alight in the river, and there is a weekly Aéromaritime service to Bathurst and Dakar. The landing-ground is 1½ miles south of the town.

Wireless. The two wireless stations are housed in the same building.

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36 [131] [167] SEDHIOU (12° 42′; 15° 31′ W.). Population, 1,653. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School.

[487] [505] [439] Sedhiou is on the right bank of the Casamance, 68 miles above Ziguinchor and 110 miles from the sea, and it is only usable by vessels drawing up to 5 feet. Formerly more prosperous than it is to-day, it has some brick buildings and shops. Many of the traders are Syrians, and there is a modest export of ground-nuts, hides, rice, and wax.

[491] By colonial road Sedhiou is 58 miles from Bignona, 74 miles from Ziguinchor, and 62 miles from Kolda.

11. MINERALS

135 [439] THE principal mineral exported from the colony is ilmenite, which is washed from beach sands between Rufisque and Cape Rouge, between Joal and Diakhanor, and at the mouth of the Casamance. Zircon (Vol. I, pp. 295–6) is obtained from the same sands, the ilmenite:zircon ratio being about 3:1. Other minerals of potential value are phosphates and limestone, both of which occur in Lower Eocene strata. Lenticular beds of phosphate, ranging from 30 to 65 per cent. bone phosphate of lime, are found near Matam and near Thiès. Limestones and marls are more widespread than in any other [339] colony, and at Rufisque they have been worked experimentally for the commercial production of cement. Bitumen has been encountered at Dakar in borings for water, but investigations have shown that the [315] geological structure is unsuited to the accumulation of petroleum.

12. AGRICULTURE

241 THE Gambia divides the millet from the manioc zone, but ground-nuts are the chief crop of both. Sisal-growing is an important, though more recent, industry. South of the Gambia the Casamance Territory provides a rich area for fruit and subsistence crops as well as for ground-nuts.

[439] There is far more production for export than in any other colony.

Food Crops

243 262 *Millets.* Millets form the staple diet of the majority of the native population and are grown all over that part of the colony north of the

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

sixth crop of Africa, and 43 per cent. of the total continental production comes from Senegal. The two main groups cultivated are the 'runner' and the 'erect'. The Rufisque and Cayor varieties, both runners, are those grown generally here and also in British West Africa. The method of cultivation is described in Volume I, p. 321.

Ground-nuts were originally grown as a staple native crop, but the industrial demand for vegetable oils, coupled with the development of transport facilities, opened up a world market for them. Extra labour for the harvest is provided annually by seasonal immigration from French Sudan, French Guinea, Portuguese Guinea, and the Gambia. In 1938 the number of outside workers was 69,757. Of these, 56,743 went to the Kaolack area, between 1,000 and 3,500 to Sedhiou, Ziguinchor, Kolda, Tambacounda, and Diourbel, and the remainder to Thiès and Linguéré.

There are numerous shelling factories. Early in 1939 new ones were opened at Kaolack, Ziguinchor, and Koungheul.

In 1938 nearly 2,000,000 acres were under cultivation and the experimental station at Bambey distributed 5,414 tons of selected seed. In 1939 7,382 tons of seed were sent out, with a corresponding increase in acreage.

During the British blockade of French West Africa after the fall of France in 1940, ground-nuts were converted into fuel oil. If this practice has been proved worth continuing after the war, cultivation may be greatly extended.

Sisal. Sisal originated in Mexico, being named after the port of Sisal in Yucatan province, and it was introduced into Senegal at the end of the nineteenth century. The species grown are *Agave rigida sisalana*, *A. rigida elongata*, and *A. rigida zapupe*. The rigid leaves containing the fibre are about 4 feet long and are harvested biennially from the fourth to the eighth or tenth year. When a plant has finished producing it shoots up a tall flower stem, with bulbils or buds on the end, and then withers.

The preparation of stem and leaf fibres is lengthy. First the fleshy tissue encasing the fibre is scraped away, and then the fibre is washed, hung out to dry, and brushed. It is now ready for grading. Next it is combed into a continuous sliver of untwisted rope. The final process is the drawing and twisting of the sliver to a uniform thinness for spinning into a rope that is particularly resistant to sea-water. The largest plantation is in French Sudan, and stretches for 12 miles along the bank of the Senegal near Kayes. Other smaller ones are in Tambacounda and on the Cape Verde peninsula. There is oppor-

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

tunity for much development in this industry, particularly in the irrigated areas of the Casamance Territory and Sine-Saloum. Europeans own the majority of the plantations, but co-operate with and encourage native growers. During the first quarter of 1939 production in Tambacounda province was 152 tons, and the factory at Kolda treated 165 tons of fibre.

Ginger. The ginger plant (*Zingiber officinale*) is of Asiatic origin, but it has been cultivated in Africa for many centuries. It is grown on a small scale wherever the rainfall is over 30 inches. It does best in a rich soil and requires shade. The ginger of commerce is prepared from the rhizome or underground stem, which is mature when the leaves turn yellow. The best ginger is prepared from immature rhizomes, which are peeled and preserved in sugar syrup, but in West Africa the coarser, mature stems are also used. Chewed ginger is reputed to enhance the stimulating effect of kola.

Pimentos. Several species of *Capsicum* or peppers grow in the Federation. In Senegal the most common are *C. annum* and *C. frutescens*, both bearing red fruits. The former was introduced from South America. It is less pungent and has larger fruits, known as 'capsicums'. *C. frutescens* has hotter fruits, known in commerce as 'chillies'. Cayenne or paprika is the red powder obtained from grounding the fruit. Pepper shrubs are grown from seeds, and after three months bear fruit for at least six months. These red peppers should not be confused with the common pepper, which is a climber and does not grow in West Africa.

Henna. This plant (*Lawsonia inermis*), like sugar-cane, maize, ginger, and castor oil, is grown wherever there is enough water. The plant is much revered by Moslems and often grown as a hedge. The powder of the young, dried leaves is the source of henna dye.

Other Crops. Other products of which small quantities are exported are citrus fruits, gum arabic, shea butter, cotton, kapok, and palm kernels.

Livestock

Livestock are fewer here than in any other colony. Sheep and goats, the latter being the more numerous, are kept near the river between Podor and Bakel and number about 100,000. There are some 310,000 cattle, 50,000 donkeys, 6,000 camels, and 14,000 pigs. These last are mainly kept in the Casamance Territory. There are 36,000 horses. These are of two breeds, the M'Bayar and the M'Par, and

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M837 Senegal MS 37
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the former provide mounts for the tirailleurs. Apiculture has increased in recent years, and in 1939 over 59,000 beehives were installed in the provinces of Bakel, Baol, Kolda, and Sine-Saloum.

Experimental Stations

There are agricultural experimental stations at Bambey, Dagana, Kolda, Louga, and Tambacounda, nurseries and botanical gardens at Hann, Richard Toll, and Sor, a livestock experimental station at Makhana (11 miles north-east of St. Louis), and farm schools at Diorbivol and Soringho (near Matam). The stations at Bambey and Louga specialize in ground-nuts, those at Kolda and Tambacounda in sisal, and that at Dagana in gum and Borassus palms (Fig. 8).

13. COMMERCE AND FINANCE

Commerce

Official statistics combine Senegal and French Sudan under one head for detailed figures, and, in addition, the general summary of *Commerce Spécial* combines them with Mauritania. These three colonies account for more than 50 per cent. of the total trade of the Federation, and of this percentage Senegal undoubtedly provides a very large proportion.

The Balance of Trade. The value of the imports commonly exceeds that of the exports, but in 1938, the last year for which statistics are available, imports were valued at 1,016,837,000 francs and exports at 1,725,649,000 francs.

Firms. The principal firms are Chavenel et Fils, the Commerce Africain, the Compagnie Française de l'Afrique Occidentale, Dèves et Chaumet, Maurel et Prom, the Nouvelle Société Commerciale Africaine, Charles Peyrissac et Cie., the Société Commerciale de l'Ouest Africain, Soucail et Cie., and Vézia et Cie.

Exports. The principal item of export is the ground-nut. The first export of ground-nuts was made from Rufisque to Rouen in 1840, and since 1844 there have been regular shipments to Marseilles. In 1936, 393,485 tons of ground-nuts in shell (28,452 tons from French Sudan) and 60,448 tons of shelled ground-nuts (4,429 tons from French Sudan) were exported, respectively worth 351,674,905 francs and 73,384,546 francs. In 1937 both quantities rose, the nuts in shell to 517,322 tons worth 431,746,036 francs and the shelled nuts to

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117,015 tons worth 126,720,675 francs. The next most valuable export is gold, of which 2,794 lb. Troy were exported in 1937. This was valued at 31,283,505 francs, but the value of the franc itself in that year was beginning to decline. Exports of ground-nut oil increased sharply from 351 tons in 1935 to 5,220 tons in 1937, and those of oilcake from 3,793 tons to 13,015 tons in the same years. Other important exports included gum arabic, sisal, and shea butter and oil.

Imports. The chief import is cotton cloth. Guinées are officially measured in thousand-metre lengths and other cloths in tons. In 1937, 9,662,000 metres (10,566,370 yards) of guinées, valued at 32,197,354 francs, were imported, and 6,825 tons of other cloths, valued at 250,516,890 francs. These amounts represent almost one-third of the total value of all imports for that year, namely 944,766,000 francs. The second most valuable import is oil fuel, and in 1937, 670,344 tons were imported to the value of 133,179,986 francs. Next in value comes rice, of which 115,875 tons worth 110,839,933 francs were imported in 1937. No figures are published for the weight, but machines, machinery, and other metal goods to the value of 93,077,917 francs were imported in the same year. Other imports include wine, coal, sugar, and ready-made clothing; in short, all the products of mine, factory, and farm which French West Africa needs but cannot supply.

Further details of both imports and exports are given in Appendix A.

FINANCE

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Senegal

The budget for 1938 balanced at 120,737,000 francs (£[illegible]). The details were published as follows:

Revenue

	Francs
I. Ordinary Revenue	
Direct taxes	48,416,000
Customs and excise	35,883,000
Posts, telegraphs, &c.	11,495,000
Grants and subsidies	19,033,000
Receipts from previous financial year	1,200,000
II. Extraordinary Revenue	
Previous withdrawals from the Reserve Bank	4,710,000
TOTAL	120,737,000

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APPENDIX A

Senegal and French Sudan: Principal Imports and Exports

	Unit	1935		1936		1937	
		Quantity	*Value in francs*	*Quantity*	*Value in francs*	*Quantity*	*Value in francs*
Exports							
Ground-nuts in shell	tons	345,875	313,432,794	393,485	351,674,005	527,322	431,746,036
Shelled ground-nuts	"	28,166	34,333,653	60,448	73,384,546	117,015	126,720,873
Ground-nut oil	"	251	861,751	2,092	5,800,397	5,220	16,040,707
Shea butter and oil	"	2,581	3,626,922	1,462	2,228,042	3,019	5,585,371
Copra	"	3,793	1,312,226	7,039	2,947,107	13,015	6,004,838
Gum arabic	lb. Troy	2,095	8,901,740	1,252	5,805,527	2,794	21,283,905
Hides	tons	4,728	7,136,201	4,891	7,450,869	6,246	15,047,090
Kapok	"	2,324	4,704,078	2,859	3,287,966	3,061	4,665,701
	"	781	2,133,090	589	2,372,178	623	2,458,800
Imports							
Guinées and similar cloths	1,000 m.[1]	9,445	17,259,597	11,691	22,384,027	9,662	22,107,354
Cotton cloths other than guinées	tons	4,635	89,564,648	5,841	124,054,528	6,825	230,516,890
Ready-made clothing	"	212	4,164,653	344	7,689,014	483	21,623,794
Boots and shoes[2]	pairs	78,801	7,564,540	266,787	7,000,120	388,455	10,385,313
Bulkheh, turpentine, and rockoleh	tons	2,287	7,088,696	3,067	10,211,697	5,406	27,423,905
Motor vehicles	Nos.	630	8,690,069	856	13,215,870	1,019	19,485,856
Iron goods[3]	tons	4,729	4,468,010	7,871	7,378,240	11,279	16,900,941
Metal goods	..	..	23,539,206	..	36,210,388	..	69,810,487
Machines and machinery	..	..	13,904,073	..	12,827,932	..	23,267,430
Wheat	tons	67,976	37,581,225	88,811	49,055,535	113,873	110,830,633
Wheat flour	gallons	1,301,373	16,457,225	1,405,036	16,084,060	1,522,544	21,185,905
Rice	tons	13,334	16,960,069	16,721	19,877,957	19,594	31,472,641
Sugar	"	13,018	9,831,300	12,281	9,305,140	14,873	21,403,576
Fish	"	395	4,390,689	656	7,338,370	534	6,777,110
Oil fuel	"	390,041	53,326,699	474,199	59,813,204	670,744	133,179,686
Coal	"	105,868	13,996,162	246,690	32,327,343	371,085	47,330,724
Soap	"	1,419	3,146,582	1,659	3,800,480	2,067	6,811,761

[1] 1,094 yards. [2] Mainly babouches (Moorish heel-less slippers). [3] Including rails for railway lines.

477 - 596 not processed

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133 channel, however, is accessible to ocean-going vessels of
505 4,000 to 6,000 tons (1) only as far as Kaolack, whose im-

1. This is about the tonnage of the vessels of the Compagnie Paquet, of the House of Manrel and Prom, and of the foreign vessels which visit the port of Kaolack.

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portance with respect to navigation we shall discuss below.

The Saloum extends into the interior of the land a series of arms which are so many channels or "marigots" /watercourses/ open to cutters and to the native dugouts.

One of the most important is the Sine, which starts at Foundiougne and runs, after many meanders, to the port of Fatick, coming out from the Sérère /Serer/ region, which, however, only cutters of 40 tons can reach.

Nevertheless, the Sine allows steamers of considerable tonnage to tie up at the wharves of Niamnioroh, a small locality which over the past several years has become the gateway to the regions of Sine and western Baol.

133 The appearance of the part neighboring the ocean up to Bathurst is one of a vast fluvial network encompassing islets of low, clayey or sandy land, bordered by huge mangrove trees; this is the region called Bas-Saloum /Lower Saloum/, a fertile area of the same nature as Basse-Casamance /Lower Casamance/, a region of palm trees and of quite dense forests, where unfortunately the clearing of land has begun its devastating work.

From the orographic viewpoint, the region of Sine-Saloum /94/ is a flat region with very slight undulations of the terrain.

Broad longitudinal valleys in a north-south direction descend from the clayey and semi-desert plateaus of the Ferlo and end at the Gambia.

During the rainy season, these depressions in the vicinity of this river form copious streams which dry up rapidly.

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633 instance, a customs office, and a telegraph, telephone, and
[647] post office. The various administrative services are represented
there (public works, treasury, medical aid, education, agri-
culture, veterinary medicine, etc.).

433 Financial situation. Taxes. The circle of Sine-Saloum
is constantly increasing in importance because of its size,
population, and economic resources.

[496] Because of its exceptional location, the railway from
[491] the Sudan crosses it over a distance of 190 kilometers. Seven
[505] stations mark it out. Its railroad network and its system of
highways and canals permit it to drain to Kaolack and
[439] Foundiougne all of the products of the soil. Thus, the total
commerce for 1927 (imports and exports combined) amounted
651 to 350 million francs for the circle. The customs duties col-
lected for the benefit of the general budget of French West
Africa reached 13 million francs. The taxes from the tax
rolls (personal taxes, patents, licenses, etc.) have risen to
25 million francs, whereas they did not exceed the figure of
4,300,000 francs in 1923. The advance is thus remarkable.

Native personal taxes alone in 1927 provided 3,768,355 francs, whereas in 1921 they brought in only 2,791,000 francs.

Taxes on livestock went from 270,000 francs in 1921 to 425,000 francs in 1927.

871 /104/ Education. Instruction is given to the children
[875] by French and native teachers. There is a regional school
[872] with 500 pupils at Kaolack. Primary schools are operating
at Fatick, Foundiougne, Sokone, Gossas, Kaffrine, and
Nioro. In all, 1,200 children receive instruction; only an
elite goes to school. A need for the creation of new centers
of education is felt, especially at Birkelane, Koungheul,
Gandiaye, Niakhar, and Tataguine. Nevertheless, although
instruction in French is given only in our schools, the natives
also receive some rudiments of instruction in the Koranic
schools. The latter are quite numerous.

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Port of Kaolack

Years	Vessels		Total	Imports		Exports		Total	
	In-coming	Out-going		Weight	Value	Weight	Value	Weight	Value
				tons	francs	tons	francs	tons	francs
1922	191	183	374	2,773	5,051,568	33,396	15,511,484	36,169	20,563,052
1923	147	581	1,228	44,808	27,954,644	79,721	48,360,455	124,529	76,305,100
1924	516	511	1,027	31,300	43,081,146	94,800	99,230,755	126,107	142,311,901
1925	482	483	965	51,150	71,165,898	121,241	139,292,637	172,391	161,401,932
1926	791	791	1,582	57,245	128,869,032	140,386	218,488,749	197,631	348,357,781
1927	828	829	1,657	60,789	116,138,356	138,664	213,889,002	199,453	330,027,358

23: Aujas--25 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal MS37

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PORT OF FOUNDIOUGNE

Years	Vessels		Total	Imports		Exports		Total	
	In-coming	Out-going		Weight	Value	Weight	Value	Weight	Value
				tons	francs	tons	francs	tons	francs
1922	624	630	1,254	5,741	15,742,749	85,507	45,523,369	91,245	61,275,11a
1923	822	785	1,607	6,292	15,024,623	43,303	27,129,527	49,595	42,154,250
1924	744	739	1,483	10,957	28,304,623	43,422	41,882,147	54,379	70,186,770
1925	650	661	1,311	13,453	32,501,849	59,031	61,006,933	72,484	94,408,782
1926	707	747	1,454	14,644	41,776,166	65,226	90,798,776	79,869	132,574,942
1927	727	753	1,480	10,427	36,343,264	57,471	81,325,445	67,898	117,668,709

23: Aujas--26 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal MS37

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23: Aujas--27 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal MS37

PORT OF SABOYA

Years	Vessels		Total	Imports		Exports		Total	
	In-coming	Out-going		Weight	Value	Weight	Value	Weight	Value
				tons	francs	tons	francs	tons	francs
1922	Noth-ing	Noth-ing							
1923	7	7	14	43	78,282	1,657	831,147	1,700	909,429
1924	9	9	18	107	290,000	1,601	6,710,000	4,279	6,810,000
1925	11	8	19	149	331,000	1,609	2,020,011	4,069	2,351,011
1926	6	4	10	75	150,000	3,834	5,443,800	3,909	5,593,800
1927	3	3	6	21	100,000	4,258	6,710,000	4,279	6,810,000

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23: Aujas--28 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal MS37

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Movement of the Ports of Sine-Saloum: Kaolack, Foundiougne, and Saboya

Years	Vessels		Total	Imports		Exports		Total	
	In-coming	Out-going		Weight	Value	Weight	Value	Weight	Value
				tons	francs	tons	francs	tons	francs
1922	815	813	1,628	8,514	20,794,317	118,903	61,043,853	127,417	81,838,170
1923	1,476	1,373	2,849	51,143	42,979,267	124,681	76,321,129	175,824	119,368,779
1924	1,269	1,259	2,528	42,364	71,675,769	139,823	141,112,902	182,194	214,398,421
1925	1,143	1,152	2,295	64,752	103,998,747	182,192	202,319,581	246,944	258,161,725
1926	1,504	1,542	3,046	71,964	170,795,198	209,446	309,287,525	281,409	486,526,523
1927	1,558	1,585	3,143	71,237	152,581,620	200,393	301,924,447	271,630	454,506,067

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Total Traffic for the Circle
(Kaolack, Foundiougne, Saboya)

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Periods	Tonnage Unloaded	Tonnage Loaded	Tonnage Unloaded and Loaded
1909-1913	12,076 t.	49,189 t.	61, 265 t.
1914-1918	12,333	70,767	83,100
1919-1923	17,438	99,803	17,241
1924	42,288	139,712	182,000
1925	64,668	182,277	246,945
1926	71,964	209,446	281,410
1927	71,237	200,393	271,630

433 505 The tonnage decreased by about 10,000 tons in 1927, but this was solely due to the fact that the groundnut harvest was slightly deficient as a consequence of an overabundance of rain. On the whole, one can say that there has been constant and uninterrupted progress since the pre-war period. The announcement of this figure indicates the flourishing situation of the region of Sine-Saloum.

433 439 In 1927 the total value of imports and exports for the circle amounted to 454 million francs, 330 million of which were for Kaolack. With what left by way of the small customs stations along the border with Gambia, one can acknowledge that the value of general commerce in 1927 was almost 500 million, or almost a third of the total commerce of the colony of Senegal, which in 1927 amounted to 1 billion 562 million.

These figures speak for themselves.

Agricultural Resources of the Region: Crops

214 The principal crop of Sine-Saloum is the groundnut. This plant is cultivated everywhere, but the best lands are in Sine and north of the railroad. The lands of Bas-Saloum

/122 cont./

317 Current production varies from 20,000 to 30,000 tons, which
433 are consumed in the region and exported to Senegal and the
[651] Sudan. This Société is hampered in its development by the taxes on salt and by transportation costs which particularly burden this product.

From time immemorial the natives have been exploiting the salt marshes at Tickat, upstream from Kaolack, and on the arms of the Saloum to the west of Fatick. They produce only what is needed for their consumption. /123/
[651] During the time of the Bours, this exploitation was the occasion for a fee in kind for the benefit of the sovereign.

433 Native industrie. In addition to the native salt marshes,
258 we might also mention the fish-drying industry. The many lagoons, marigots, and watercourses of the region contain an abundance of excellent ocean fish (polynemids, pike, skate, sole, etc.). The Niominka race, accustomed to fishing, draw a remunerative advantage from it. The drying of fish is practiced at Fatick, Foundiougne, and in Bas-Saloum. One can estimate the quantity of dried fish at close to 500
[438] tons per year. The consumption is purely local, and the markets of the circle and of neighboring circles are the usual selling places.

433 The only other local industries are those of the potters,
463 basket makers, and weavers. Some native blacksmiths set
[326] up shop in the villages at the time of cultivation; they are, moreover, of the Ouoloff or Moorish race.

433 European industries. There is only one European in-
258 dustry in the circle. An oil factory for the processing of
[648] groundnuts has been set up at Kaolack by Engineer Gaudart. Today this factory belongs to the Société des Huileries et Rizeries Ouest-Africaines /West African Oil Refinery and Rice Company/. Its equipment is modern. Its production is large; it
[439] sells it in the colony, in France, and in the nearby British colonies.

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439 Commerce. Commerce has not stopped progressing since the end of the war, for both imports and exports.

Fabrics constitute the principal part of the imports, along with toys and construction materials.

The groundnut is the principal product exported. It is the one that makes up the wealth of the region.

[471] Commerce is for the most part in the hands of French Sociétés /companies/ or individuals, who have established branches in all the important centers. These branches have been multiplying in the past several years and even extend into the small villages which are disposal centers /124/ for the sought-after agricultural product. Today the truck penetrates into the most remote corners. In other words the farmer no longer has to put himself out in order to sell his products. One comes to him to buy his groundnuts at the very place of the harvest. The petty retail trade is in the hands of native [443] traders or Syrian merchants.

Imports. We saw above the figures for the movement of navigation and the tonnage of the goods unloaded in the various ports. The high prices for fabrics that have been reached in the last three or four years have caused a certain drop in business, from which the wholesale trade and the retail trade have suffered.

439 505 Exports. We are giving below the figures for the export of groundnuts. As is known, for Senegal the past two years have been calculated at a tonnage of 483,980 tons in 1926 and 485,608 tons in 1927, with a respective value of 740 million and 616 million.

Out of this total, the share of the ports of the Saloum, going back to 1921, is the following:

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	Kaolack	Foundiougne	Totals (1)
1921	. . .	73,885 t.	73,885 t.
1922	29,192 t.	79,882	109,074
1923	75,503	36,954	112,457
1924	90,421	39,221	129,633
1925	110,787	52,986	163,773
1926	135,899	58,271	194,170
1927	134,947	51,808	186,755

1. Kaolack, up to 1922, had no customs office. It was Foundiougne which centralized all the operations.

To the above figures must be added those for the port of Saboya which we gave above.

On the whole, the tonnage of groundnuts exported by way of the ports of the circle was 198,000 tons in 1926; in 1927, 191,000 tons, or 40% of the /125/ total exports of groundnuts from Senegal. It should be noted that in 1906 the tonnage exported amounted to only 31,000 tons.

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433 The production of the circle being 140,000 tons, the difference over that comes from the harvest of the regions of Baol, Tambacounda, and the Sudan, which is shipped to Kaolack and Foundiougne. If one compares these figures with the production of 1913, which was 60,000 tons, one sees how much progress has marked the cultivation of groundnuts.

Imports and exports combined make the general commerce of the circle reach close to 300,000 tons at present.

651 Customs receipts. The Kaolack customs office took in as receipts the sum of 13,901,810 francs in 1927.

The one at Foundiougne, 4,001,249 francs.

Or a total of 17,903,059 francs.

If one adds to this the receipts from Saboya and those from the frontier posts of the Gambia, the total receipts exceed 18 million francs. We are far from the figure for 1905: 405,000 francs.

/45 cont./ W
a kind of Negro bard or comedian, who do not receive the honors 123
of burial and are therefore deposited in the hollows of certain [766]
trees designated to serve as tombs for them.

May 1822

Meanwhile, M. Roger, the ex-barrister, having become S
governor of our colonies in Africa, sent us the order to go to [648]
Sierra Leone to get a library (16) and some cannon belonging

> 16. And doubtless also the archives of Senegal. This mission was not crowned with success, "the library having been sent back to Europe" (Herpin, 1913, p. 132).

to France, which the English had taken away while evacuating our colony.

He advised us on the same occasion, if we happened S
to capture any French ships engaging fraudulently in the slave [439]
trade, to treat them kindly, in order to conform to the paternal instructions of the mother country.

/46/ The metaphor seemed to us rather bold, even for an ex-barrister.

Here I resume the observations that I made during my stay at Cape Verde.

The Yoloffe Negroes who people this region are tall W
and well-proportioned in stature. Their color is darker than 142
that of all the other Blacks of Africa. They follow the religion W
of Mohammed, but completely distorted by secular idolatrous 771
beliefs.

Their marabouts, very influential, sell them very dearly W
the grigris or amulets with which they decorate themselves in [789]
order to protect themselves against all evils and all dangers. [793]
[751]

Among their religious customs let us note a kind of ban W
which resembles the excommunication of former times. 695